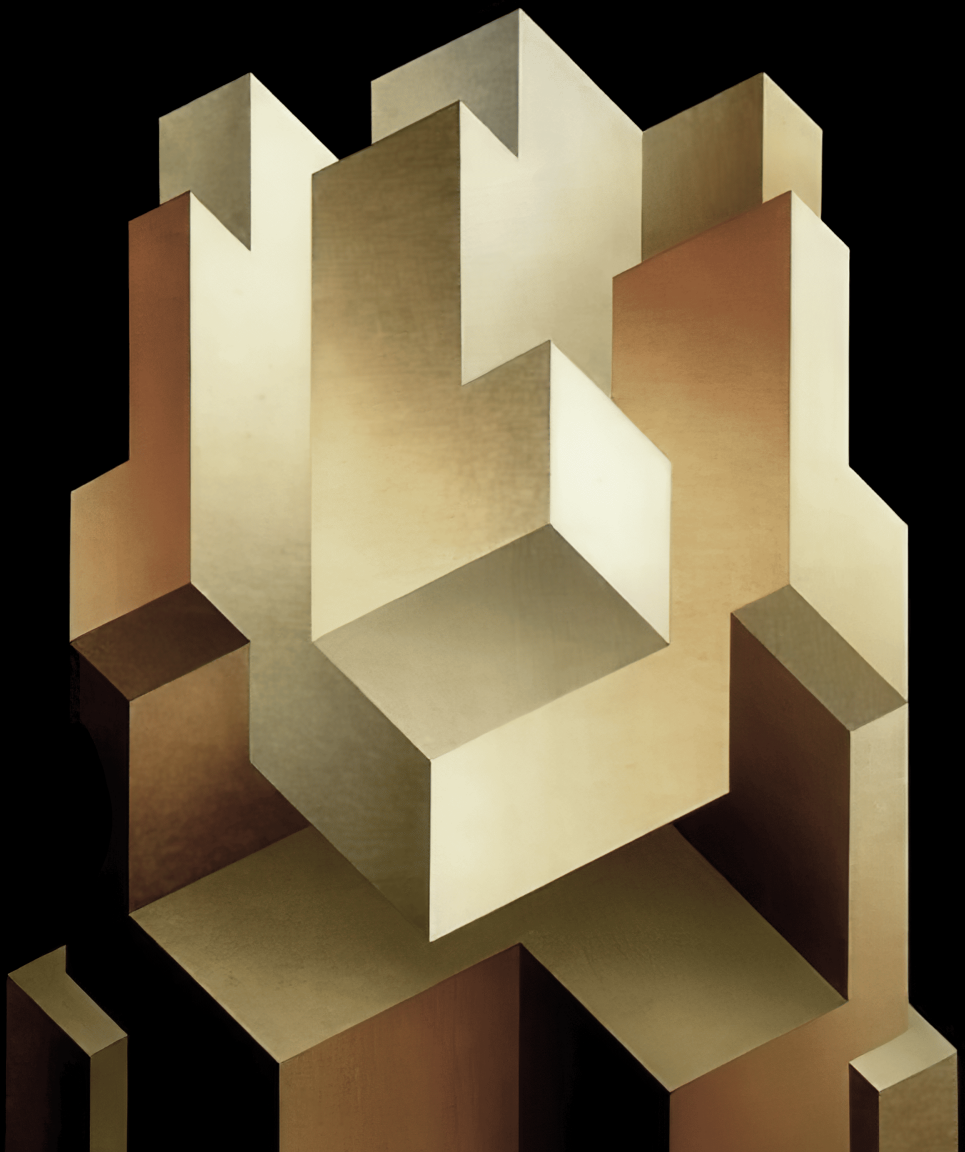
CULTURAL MARXISM

Yuri Bezmenov



CULTURAL MARXISM

BY

YURI BEZMENOV

AKA.

TOMAS SCHUMAN (1939-1993)

Contents

Forewords 1
Foreword from the author 1
Foreword from the editor 5

I Love letter to America 7

1 My life story 9

2 Prelude to subversion 21

3 The four stages of subversion 27
3.1 Stage one: demoralisation 28
3.2 Stage two: destabilization 52
3.3 Crisis, stage three 54
3.4 Normalization: the fourth and last stage 55

4 It will never happen here! 59

II World Thought Police 61

5 Preface 63

6 Background & History 67

7 Structure and Functions 71

8 P.R. Men–The Friendly Mind-Benders 73

9 Novosti cadres 77

10 Party line of Novosti 81

11 Novostis connection with the KGB 85

12 The vicious circle of untruth 95
12.1 Homemade Propaganda 97
12.2 Novosti Space Bluff 98
12.3 Human Interest Propaganda 101
12.4 Indo-Soviet Friendship: My Cup of Tea 103

13 Collaborators: who are they? 111
13.1 Foreign Press Collaborators 113

14 Services and pay 119

15 Overt and legitimate operations 121

16 Pentagon's gun fodder or America's conscience? 143

Bibliography 151

Forewords

Foreword from the author

Dear Americans,
my name is Tomas David Schuman. I am what you may call a "defector" from the USSR, and I have a message for you: I love you very much. I love all of you–liberals and conservatives, "decadent capitalists" and "oppressed masses", blacks and whites and browns and yellows, rednecks and intellectuals. For me you are the people who created a unique nation, country and society in the history of mankind,–by no means a perfect one, but, let's face it–the most free, affluent and just in today's world.

I am not alone in this love. People all over the Earth, whether they praise America or bitterly criticize her, look upon you as the only hope for mankind's survival and the last stronghold of freedom. Some may not think in these idealistic terms, but they certainly enjoy the fruits of your civilization, often forgetting to be grateful for them. Millions of people in the so-called "socialist camp" or in the "Third World" literally owe their lives to America.

As a war-time child. I survived partly thanks to such "decadent capitalist" (as the Soviets say) things as "Spam" meat, condensed milk and egg powder that were supplied to my country by the USA through the lend-lease program of World War II. In the Soviet Union we secretly but proudly called ourselves "the Spam generation". Too prosaic? Who cares about "Spam" in today's USA, apart from "underprivileged" welfare recipients? Well, for me these foods are not merely the nostalgic delight of my troubled childhood, but rather, a symbol of love from a friend when I was in need. No amount of communist propaganda against America has ever been able to convince me that the United States out to "colonize

and exploit". I will tell you—many people have been more than willing to be "exploited" the American way. For what other reason have thousands risked their lives, gone to unimaginable troubles, left behind their families their motherland and traditional ways of life to come to America? Have you ever heard of "illegal aliens" risking their lives crossing the border at midnight into Socialist USSR? Or the "boat people" swimming oceans and drowning by the thousands just to reach the shores of Communist China? Or defectors like me, leaving behind relative affluence and risking bullets in the back in order to join the "progressive workers paradise" in Russia? No, we all come here to America, obviously willing to be "exploited by capitalists" and enjoy "oppression" together with you. Because we believe and *know*—America **is a better** place.

I am writing this not to please you with words you want to hear. The rest of my message may be more unpleasant to you than even Communist propaganda, or more offensive than the speeches of "leaders" in Kremlin. But as a true friend of America, I want to help.

My dear friends, I think you are in big trouble. Whether you believe it or not, *you are at war*. And you may lose this war very soon, together with all your affluence and freedoms, unless you start defending yourselves. I hope you have noticed on your colour televisions that there is in fact war going on right now all over this planet. This war has many faces, but it's all the same—it's war. Some call it "national liberation", some title it "class struggle" or "political terrorism". Others call it "anti-colonialism" or "struggle for majority rule". Some even come up with such fancy names as "war of patriotic forces" or "peace movement". I call it World Communist Aggression.

I know what I am talking about, because I was on the side of the aggressor before I decided to take YOUR side. I do not believe— *I know*— that in this war no one is being "liberated, decolonised or made equal", as Soviet doctrine proclaims. You may notice, if you give yourselves the trouble to observe, that the only "equality" and "liberation" this war produces is the equality of death and the "liberation" from freedom. Look at Russia, Poland, Hungary, Afghanistan—would you say the people of

those countries celebrated and rejoiced when the Soviets brought them equality and liberation? Of course not. We must take a clear and honest look at what Soviet "liberation" actually means.

This war of Communist World Aggression is not fought against some mythological "capitalists" as Communist propaganda claims. No, my dear friends, this war is fought against **you**–personally.

Communist wars of world aggression are not fought for liberty and equality. We have thousands of unequivocal examples of the horrendous human suffering, torture and mass death that occur after a Soviet "liberation". The final stage of Communist aggression–military confrontation–has very little to do with rivalry for territorial or geopolitical gains in order to free and liberate. Communist world aggression is a total war against humanity and human civilization. In Communist propaganda terms, this is "the final struggle for the victory of Communism".

The driving force of this war has very little to do with natural aspirations of people for better lives and greater freedoms. If at all, these aspirations are being used and taken advantage of by the manipulators and progenitors of the war. The real driving force of this war of aggression is *ideology*–something you cannot eat, wear or store for a "rainy day". An integral part of this war of ideology is **Ideological Subversion**–the process of changing the perception of reality in the minds of millions of peoples all over the world. The late comrade Andropov, the former head of the Soviet KGB called this war of Communist aggression, "the final struggle for the *minds* and hearts of the people".

The reason that I am so certain of the real goal of Communist aggression is that I was actually a part and an unwilling instrument of Soviet subversion tactics. Having been trained and used by the KGB for their global ideological subversion campaign, I have some first-hand knowledge about the people behind this war and the methods they use. I know very well the way the Communists, whom the Western media call "freedom fighters" and "rebels", operate. I know their mentality and their methods, I know their ultimate goals, which are very far from the liberty, equality and freedom they verbally espouse. Because I have seen

the tragic consequences of this war of ideological subversion, I would like to offer some suggestions as to how we in the United States can *defend* ourselves against this deadly war and how we can *survive* in this "final struggle for minds and hearts".

"What's in it for Tomas Schuman," you may ask. Well, I've asked myself. What do I get for defecting from the winning side (the Soviets) ... and joining the losers? (I hope I don't have to tell you, that at least a dozen countries have succumbed to the Communists since my defection.) In reality, dear friends, I have gained nothing materially from my defection. What I have gained is a firm commitment to the United States as the last real frontier of freedom. This is it, dear Americans, your country (and mine now) will be the last to be "liberated" by Marxists, socialists, and domestic "do-gooders". If the "liberationists" succeed in bringing their "New Order" to America, chances are you and I will meet in front of a firing squad–or worse in a "re-education" forced labour camp in the Alaskan Peoples Democratic Republic.

You have too many concrete examples of what Communist "liberation" has done for other countries to believe that I am wrong when I warn you that we are on the brink of disaster. From one that has lived, worked and seen first-hand the realities of day to day life in a communist/socialist state–you must wake up now and start defending the rights and freedoms you now have. No matter how many problems you think the U.S. may have, believe me when I say that they are nothing in comparison to the troubles you will experience if the U.S. continues to agree and sympathize with communist/socialist doctrines.

I have made my choice to be with *you*, the nation I love. I have risked my life like many others, to tell you of my life and experiences within a Communist state. You have nothing to risk by listening to me and making up your mind as to whether I am a "cold war paranoiac", as your media calls me, or whether my message makes sense. The choice is yours.

Tomas Schuman
Los Angeles 1984

Foreword from the editor

Dear Reader,

the content of this book is not new. We my consider it to be old. The times of cold war and nuclear-war scare are over. And we my think this book has an antique value. But I would like you to look at this book from a different perspective.

The techniques described here are not unique to KGB. In fact as Bezmenov said, they are around 2500 years old. It would be naive to think that till now, the only organisation who has used it was the *evil* KGB. This method–devastating to societies and nations–is free available and not forbidden to use by law.

Today, 2016, we may take a look in the USA or Europe. USA is struggling with, variety of social groups who demand special treatment– like the Black Life Mater– what tears the social structure apart. In Europe people of various nations welcome members of foreign and not really friendly culture with welcome sign on the train stations. Are we sure this is not the result of planed subversions?

Yuri Bezmenov true contribution is not only the exposure of those tools of destruction, but foremost, the description of tools we can use to prevent our society from being attacked and destroyed. In doing so we are able to inflict damage to the attackers itself, without even knowing who they are. As Yuri Bezmenov said, *subversion* require tremendous resources and time what used in-vain drain the resources of the attacker without inflicting damage to the attacked society.

Editor.

I. Love letter to America

1. My life story

I was born in Moscow in 1939 under the name of Yuri Bezmenov. My father was an officer of the Soviet Army General Staff. As inspector of the Land Forces, he was stationed in "fraternal countries" such as Mongolia, Cuba and East Germany. Were he alive today, he would most likely be checking the status of Soviet troops in Angola, Ethiopia, Yemen, Syria, Vietnam, Cambodia, Nicaragua and the ever-growing number of other "liberated" countries of the world.

I was brought up under the shadow of comrade Stalin, to the echo of the World War II. As a loyal and patriotically-minded young Communist, I loved my country, good or bad. However, unlike certain Western intellectuals and liberals, I did not require half a century to realize that the "leaders" of my country are self-imposed dictators–mass murderers, and that the ideology of Marxism-Leninism is an absolutely false system that produces none of the advantages or benefits of the "worker's paradise" that it promises. It was a simple matter for me to compare the Soviet propaganda claims given to all Russian citizens of glorious "socialist achievements" with the surrounding realities–early morning bread lines, because we had so little to eat; the frequents arrests of "enemies of the people" and the omnipresent fear of the KGB.

Because of my war-time childhood spent in the Asian section of the USSR, I developed an early affection for the oriental way of life and at the age of 17 after graduating from elementary school, I entered the Institute of Oriental Languages, an affiliate of Moscow State University. The Institute was actually under the direct control of KGB and Communist Central Committee–an elitist nest for future Soviet diplomats, foreign correspondents and spies. At the Institute, while studying several foreign language and mass media, I was required to also take compul-

Figure 1: I was dreaming about exotic Asia as a schoolboy (right); and as a student of Oriental Languages Institute (left).

sory military training. During training, we students were taught how to play "strategic war games" using the maps of foreign countries. Civil Defence and anti-nuclear training were also essential parts of our education. In addition, we took "interrogation classes" which were designed to teach us how to interrogate prisoners of war. In particular, we were instructed to interrogate prisoners as to their reaction to a Soviet nuclear strike aimed at their country–it was for me a bizarre experience. Upon graduating, I was sent to India as a translator for the Soviet Economic Aid Group which was building oil refineries in two Indian states. Here, during my first foreign assignment, I realized the great discrepancy between my country's proclaimed goals of "selfless fraternal cooperation" and the actual ruthless exploitation of India by Soviet neo-colonialists. As an example of this exploitation, the Soviets, in purchasing Indian manufactured goods, would pay the Indians only in rubles.

Unfortunately, rubles are non-convertible currency on the inter- national market, meaning that the Indian manufacturer would be unable to

purchase anything on the international market with his Soviet rubles. On the other hand, the Soviets would take the Indian manufactured goods and sell them at a substantial profit on the international market for "hard currency" such as dollars or pounds which are easily negotiable. So basically, the Indian manufacturer received only a fraction of the actual worth of his product, while the Soviets reaped the rewards of their duplicity.

Is it that the Indians are stupid, ignorant people, that they allow the Soviets to deceive them in this manner? On the contrary–for the most part, they are innocent victims of one of the world's most sophisticated con games–Ideological Subversion. They have been psychologically manipulated through media, politics, etc. into believing that the Soviets are their friends who are protecting them from the "Western imperialists." This same subversion game is being played all over the world–even in America, KGB influence in our media, politics and nearly every phase of our life has produced a growing conviction on the part of many Americans that we are the "bad guys"–again I have to remind you that to date, there has never been a single defection from the United States. The Soviets have produced an absolutely ludicrous global lie that people are believing–why? Because the tactics of ideological subversion work.

Even after witnessing the ruthless tactics used by my country I still naively hoped that things would turn out for the better eventually. After all, I was a product of the post-Stalin era of "thaw" and liberalization started by Krushchev. I believed in "Socialism with a human face". That faith was shattered irreparably only five years later, when I witnessed the brutal Soviet military intervention into "fraternal" Czechoslovakia in 1968.

After completing my first assignment in India, in 1965 I was re- called to Moscow and immediately joined the "Novosti Press Agency (Novosti means "news" in Russian)–the biggest and most powerful propaganda, espionage and ideological front of the KGB. I was employed by Novosti as an apprentice for their classified department of 'Political Publications' (GRPP) under comrade Norman Borodin. After working a short time I discovered that about 75% of the Novosti's staffers were actually KGB

officers; the other 25% were "co-optees", or KGB freelance writers (P.R. officers) informers like myself. The other interesting fact I discovered was that there was no "news" at Novosti. My main job, apart from writing, editing and translating propaganda materials to be planted in foreign media, was accompanying delegations of Novosti's guests–journalists, editors, publishers, writers, politicians and businessmen from foreign countries on tours of the USSR or to international conferences held in the Soviet Union. In actuality, as a freelance journalist, I did absolutely no writing or news coverage at all. After several months I was formally recruited by the KGB as an informer, while still maintaining my position as a Novosti journalist. My work with the KGB entailed combining my journalistic duties with the collection of intelligence data, and the spreading of "disinformation" to foreign countries for the purposes of Soviet propaganda and subversion. It was only a matter of time before the KGB realized that my personal friendships with guests of Novosti Press Agency could also be utilized for their operations.

Why did I allow myself to be recruited? There really is no simple answer. For one thing, a Soviet journalist cannot simply say "no" to the KGB. If he wants to remain alive, free, pursue his career and travel abroad, he simply must cooperate with the KGB, or suffer the consequences.

Secondly, apart from monetary and material gains, a Soviet journalist co-opted (hired) by the KGB has a rare chance to become *important* in his own country, and in 1965, the USSR was still my country. Many of my colleagues, both cynicists and true patriots, joined the KGB, naively believing that they could promote themselves to the higher positions of power, while maintaining their secretly kept moral principles and disguising their actual disgust of the system. By the time most of them realized that 'power corrupts' and that allegiance with the Soviet Communist power corrupts absolutely–it was too late. The majority of my former colleagues are now firmly entrenched in the 'privileged class I and their humanistic ideals have all been traded one by one for small comforts such as a private car (a rare thing in the USSR), a free apartment, a country house ("dacha"), free trips abroad and freedom to socialize with

foreigners, none of which would be possible or available to the average Russian worker.

So despite my early dislike of the Soviet Communist system, I joined the KGB, hoping in some way to 'outsmart them', to play the game until I could see more clearly how to proceed. My rapid promotion followed. I was once again assigned to India, this time as a USSR press-officer and a 'P. R.' agent for the KGB. Because of my knowledge of India and her languages–Hindi and Urdu–I became deeply involved in the KGB operations in India. I was directed by my superiors to slowly but surely establish the Soviet 'sphere of influence' in India.

Figure 2: Tomas Schuman (left) with a microphone recording a propaganda 'social event' with the USSR embassy officials and Mrs. Indira Gandhi–willing participant of Soviet propaganda operations in India.

In addition to the bribery and corruption of Indian officials, blackmail and intrusion into the internal affairs of India, the Soviets went one step further in their 'brotherly assistance' to India. In 1969 by a secret directive of the Central Committee of the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet

Union), all embassies of the USSR all over the world, including India, opened a new secret department innocently titled "Research and Counter-Propaganda Group". I became a deputy chief of that department, working under a KGB officer, comrade Valeri Neyev.

It did not take me long to discover that our group was engaged in, neither "research" nor "counter-propaganda": behind locked doors we accumulated intelligence from various sources, including Indian informers and agents, regarding virtually *every* important and politically significant citizen of India–members of Parliament, civil servicemen, military and public figures, media people, businessmen, university professors, radical or otherwise students and writers–in other words *everyone* instrumental in shaping the **public opinion** and policies of the nation. Those who were "friendly" and ready to invite the Soviet expansionist policy into their own country were promoted to higher positions of power, affluence and prestige through various operations by KG B-Novosti. Large groups, of the so-called "progressive and sober-thinking" Indians were on a regular basis, generously supplied with duty-free booze from the embassy stocks. Soviet sympathizers were invited to the USSR for free trips and numerous "international conferences" where they not only received substantial sums of money in the form of "literary awards" or "Nehru Peace and Friendship" prizes, but were also medically treated for VD or hernias acquired in the perpetual "class struggle" against "American imperialism". Those who refused to be "flexible" and take a voluntary role in this cruel farce were thoroughly character-assassinated in the sensation-hungry media and press.

Let me give you an example of how the KGB uses the information it collects. One day in 1968, I was routinely scanning through the backlog of USA Information Service releases and classified documentation, generously supplied to us by our Indian and American "friends". In one of the dispatches, I read that the South Vietnamese city of Hue had been captured by the Hanoi Communists. When it was re-captured by the US Army and allied forces, only two days later, the CI A discovered to their horror that several thousand Vietnamese–teachers, priests, Buddhists,

businessmen, and educated citizens–everyone who was "pro-American", had been rounded up by the invaders and *in one night*, taken out of the city limits and executed collectively. Some were shot. Others, with their hands tied by electric wire, were found with their skulls crushed-in by shovels and iron bars. "How could they possibly have located all of these people within only a few hours in a large city?" — the Americans wondered. I thought I knew the answer.

Long before the invasion there was an extensive network of Communist informers working under the guidance of the Soviet embassy in Hanoi–that is under the KGB. The Communists filed every bit of information: addresses, personal habits, political affiliations, expressed ideas, unexpressed thoughts revealed in informal and private conversations, even the names and addresses of relatives, friends, even lovers and mistresses of the future victims of "liberation". After reading the news release I was sick, physically, with the realization that the department I was working for in New Delhi was engaged in exactly the same activity that had been used in the city of Hue. I realized fully that I was a part of a heinous crime against our host country. Adding to my nausea, I discovered that some of our files contained data of a personal nature; intimate information such as "sexual preferences" e.g. homosexualism, of certain Indian VIPs–even radicals and Communists openly sympathetic to Soviet policies. Were they also listed for execution if a Soviet-backed revolution in India should occur?

My frustration was compounded by my KGB supervisor who coached me in a fatherly tone:

> "Don't bother with these prostitutes, the Indian Communists. Don't waste your time with them. There is nothing more dangerous than disillusioned 'true believers' in Communism. They turn into the most bitter enemies and counter-revolutionaries–aim higher–at respectable 'conservative' well-established 'capitalists' and pro-American elements!"

So, as you can see, the KGB/Soviets have absolutely no respect for

the majority of their new "converts".

Figure 3: An announcement in Indian newspapers was placed by the KGB and their 'friends' to prevent my defection to the West. Anything goes–Just to prevent the true information from reaching the media and public–even 'elimination' of a defector.

Figure 4: The KGB and Indian Police were looking for a wrong person: this is how Tomas looked at the time of defection.

One event in particular that solidified my increasing horror of KGB tactics concerned one of my closest Indian friends, a journalist who represented one of the most influential newspapers in India. When I discovered that my friend had been targeted for a KGB character assassination campaign I felt a tremendous desire to escape from the USSR embassy immediately and to confide to my Indian friend the situation confronting him, and also my desire to break my ties with the KGB–which meant defection. However, such an impulse scheme could have hardly succeeded. The Indian government, under strong pressure from the Soviet embassy, had adopted a law which stated that no defector

from any country has a right of political asylum in *any* embassy in the territory of the Republic of India. This masterpiece of political hypocrisy had been created by Mrs. Indira Gandhi after Stalin's daughter Svetlana, defected to the West while residing in India. Because of this situation I knew full well that my defection would not be a simple matter, and as a result, it required a carefully thought-out plan. To be caught by the KGB while attempting defection would mean that I would be forcefully returned to Russia and imprisoned–perhaps worse. I therefore resolved to wait until I had formed a definite plan for my escape.

However my patience was running thin. One of the last straws for me was a story I heard from one of my KGB colleagues: I learned that the Soviet Union was importing Soviet trained subversives to East Pakistan in preparation for a revolution there. My colleague further informed me that Soviet cases marked "printed matter–to Dacca University" stored in the basement of the USSR consulate in Calcutta were accidentally discovered to contain, not university texts, but rather Kalashnikov guns (AK-47s) and ammunition for the anticipated communist revolution in Pakistan.

This incident occurred in December of 1969. Two months later I "disappeared" from the USSR embassy in New Delhi. In order to avoid detection by the Indian Police and the KGB, I had disguised myself as an American "hippie". This method of defection was actually a guaranteed success–no-KGB detective in his "right mind" would have thought to look for a missing Soviet diplomat among the crowds of long-haired, bearded, barefoot, hashish- smoking Americans who had invaded India in search of 'enlightenment'. And so I escaped to the West. I landed successfully in Canada in July 1970. There, I studied history and political science, taught Russian language and literature, and worked for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation as an announcer/producer for Radio-Canada International (an equivalent of the 'Voice of America'). I was later forced to resign from my position with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation due to a complaint made by the USSR ambassador to Canada to the Canadian government stating that I was anti-Soviet. Realizing that I did

not have the support of the Canadian government for having made my choice not to perform acts for the KGB and Soviet Russia that violated my sense of justice and right action; I came to America.

Presently I am a freelance writer and political analyst, trying–though not always successfully, to awaken the Western populace to the realities of life under the Soviet system and to the *ideological subversion* that is being practised upon them daily. It is my hope that this booklet, and the follow-up booklets that I am now writing will make clear to all who read them, the real facts behind the barrage of false media, ideas and information from the Soviet Union that represent the Communist state as a "workers paradise". Believe me when I say, having lived through it–it was no paradise.

Figure 5: Two different attitudes to India: above Tomas Schuman socializing with an Indian student and meditating about marrying an Indian girl following the Marxist slogan: 'Proletarian of all the world, unite'. Communist Party had a different plan for Schuman's genes though. He had to marry a Soviet interpreter.

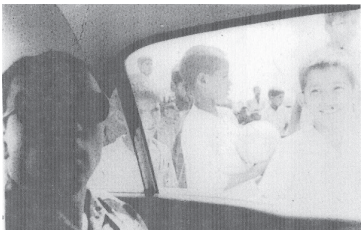


Figure 6: Soviet diplomat Y. Ashitkov always rolled up the windows of his car to avoid the 'smell of those stinking Indians'.

2. Prelude to subversion

> All warfare is based primarily on deception of an enemy. Fighting on a battlefield is the most primitive way of making war. There is no art higher than to destroy your enemy without a fight–by *subverting* anything of value in enemy's country.
>
> SUN-TZU,
> Chinese philosopher
> 500 B.C.

The art of duping the masses into doing things to their own disadvantage and making them believe it is "the will of people" is as ancient as mankind itself.

The essence of subversion is best expressed in the famous Marxist slogan, (if you substitute "proletarians" for a more appropriate word):

"Useful idiots of the world–*unite*!"

To achieve the desired effect, the subverter must first–make idiots out of normal people, and *divide* them, before turning the people into a homogenized mass of useful and united idiots. Tanks and missiles may or may not be needed at final stage. For the time being they are simply the means of terrorising people into inaction and submission.

500 years before Christ, the Chinese military strategist Sun Tzu formulated the principle of subversion this way:

1. Cover with ridicule all of the valid traditions in your opponent's country.

2. Implicate their leaders in criminal affairs and turn them over to the scorn of their populace at the right time;

3. Disrupt the work of their government by every means;

4. Do not shun the aid of the lowest and most despicable individuals of your enemy's country.

5. Spread disunity and dispute among the citizens.

6. Turn the young against the old.

7. Be generous with promises and rewards to collaborators and accomplices.

Sound familiar? About 2500 years later we can read this very same instruction in a secret document, allegedly authored by the Communist International for their "young revolutionaries". The document is titled "Rules of Revolution":

1. Corrupt the young, get them interested in sex, take them away from religion. Make them superficial and enfeebled.

2. Divide the people into hostile groups by constantly harping on controversial issues of no importance.

3. Destroy people's faith in their national leaders by holding the latter up for contempt, ridicule and disgrace.

4. Always preach democracy, but seize power as fast and as ruthlessly as possible.

5. By encouraging government extravagances, destroy its credit, produce years of inflation with rising prices and general discontent.

6. Incite unnecessary strikes in vital industries, encourage civil disorders and foster a lenient and soft attitude on the part of the government towards such disorders.

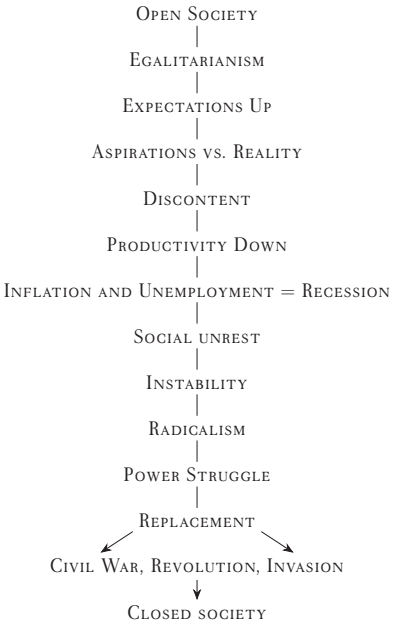


Figure 7: The movement from open to closed society

7. Cause breakdown of the old moral virtues: honesty, sobriety, self-restraint, faith in the pledged word.

I can not vouch for authenticity of this document, which, according to American conservative media was captured by the Allied forces after WW II in defeated Germany, in Dusseldorf. But I can assure you, that these "rules"are almost a literal interpretation of those "theories and practices" which I learned from my KGB superiors and colleagues within the 'Novosti' Press Agency.

Yes, I am well aware of the possibility, that nothing I write here is a "sensational revelation" to many of you. What I did was simply to structure my knowledge and experience with the Soviet subversion system into a simple and graphic record. To help you to get an overall picture of the *subversion* process, let me first outline for you the movement of a target nation from the state of "open society" to a "closed" one. This outline is taken from secret, not so secret and absolutely non-secret Marxist literature: An "open society" is the one you are living now. You can work in it, or choose not to work, have private property or have nothing at all, love it or leave it, criticize it without fear of being declared an "enemy of people." It is a society, based on free individual initiative and the free market system.

All you have to do to "screw up" the status quo of a free nation, is to borrow *one* false idea from the ideology of a communist or totalitarian government. For the sake of simplicity, I have chosen the idea of "egalitarianism". "People born equal therefore must be equal". Sounds great. But look at yourselves. Were you born equal? Some of you weighed 7 pounds at birth, others 6 or 5 . . . Are you *you* equal? In any way? Physically, mentally, emotionally, racially, spiritually? Some are tall and dumb, others–short, bald and clever. Now, let's figure out what will happen if we *legislative equality*, and make the concept of "equality" a cornerstone and pillar of socio- economical and political system. All right? You don't have to be a great economist or sociologist to foresee that some of the people who are "less equal" would demand as much as those who are "more equal" **by law**!

Aha, now you've got it. There will be some who get more for *giving* less and take advantage of those, who are even "less equal", say, in the art of *talking*. And to avoid the squabble for "equal redistribution" you will have to introduce a *third force*–the State. Why? Because people were never equal, are not equal and if God wanted us to be equal He would probably have made us equal. No. He provided a difference. "Vive la Difference!"–said the French before the French Revolution. And they were right.

The beauty of the best, most successful political/economic system, created by the Fathers of America has nothing to do with *legislated* or enforced equality. The American Republic is based on the principle of *equal opportunities* for *unequal* and very much *different* and diverse individuals to develop their abilities and to coexist in mutually beneficial cooperation. And that is entirely different story. That much I knew even from the Soviet textbooks of American history.

Now let's move faster. People who have declared themselves to be equal will inevitably come to expect more for their individual needs, which sooner or later will tragically come to conflict with the "unequal" reality. That will automatically produce discontent. Unhappy and discontent masses are less productive than those who are happy being what they are and making the best of it. Decreased productivity, as we all know, leads to such unpleasant things as inflation, unemployment and recession. These, in turn, cause social unrest and instability, both economical and political.

Chronic instability breeds radicalism as a means of solving problems. Radicalism is the precondition of a power struggle which may (and has often) resulted in violent and forceful replacements of power structures. If the situation deteriorates badly, this replacement takes ugly forms of internal civil war, or revolution, or invitation of a "friendly and fraternal" neighbour, and finally ends up in the traditional way–namely, state control. Depending on maturity of a nation, and the amount (or absence) of common sense, this control will manifest itself in the creation of a "closed society"–the opposite of what we had in the beginning.

Borders are closed, censorship of the media is established, “irritants” and “enemies” of the state are executed, etc.

This is my ‘simplistic’ and highly ‘unscientific’ outline of the events which have happened in many countries of the world. Any nation is able to do this to herself without any help from comrades Andropov and Brezhnev and their numerous KGB agents. Any one of you can easily observe this vicious chain of events by simply reading your newspapers regularly or even watching the TV.

3. The four stages of subversion

What many of you do not see, is the second "chain" of events which I graphically represent in the following chart (see page 29) the *four stages of subversion*:

1. demoralisation
2. destabilisation
3. crisis
4. "normalisation"

What has all this to do with the KGB? Very simple: these are the 'most favourable conditions' listed in any Marxist textbook of revolutionary struggle. I have simply placed them in chronological order and divided them into three vertical columns: the areas of application, the methods of subversion and the expected (or achieved) results.

In the context of the USA, most of these nasty things are done to America by Americans... with the *ideological* help of the Communist subverters. Most of the actions are overt, legitimate, and easily identifiable. The only trouble is–they are "stretched in time". In other words, the process of subversion is such a long-term process that an average individual, due to the short time-span of his historical memory, is unable to perceive the process of subversion as a *consistent* and will-full effort. That is exactly how it is intended to be: like the small hand of your watch. You know it moves, but you *cannot see* it moving.

The main principle of ideological subversion is *turning a stronger force against itself*. Just like in the Japanese martial arts: you do not stop

the blow of a heavier more powerful enemy with an equally forceful blow. You may simply hurt your hand. Instead you catch the striking fist with your hand and *pull* the enemy in the direction of his blow until he crashes into a wall or any other heavy object in his way.

America is obviously a "stronger force" that Communism is unable to defeat. But it is possible to conquer this nation using the preconditions I have described, created by Americans themselves, and diverting America's attention away from these mortally dangerous preconditions. The situation is similar to a house, the owners of which have stored explosives and inflammable materials *inside*. To destroy this house the enemy does not have to intrude physically into it. It is enough to start a fire next door and wait till the wind blows in the right direction. Meanwhile the enemy may "throw in some great ideas" for the owners to argue about in order to take their attention off the actual fire: environmental protection, gay liberation or emancipation of house pets are the types of non-critical arguments that divert America's attention from the real danger. Smart people would notice the fire and remove the inflammable objects and materials *before* the house catches the fire. Useful idiots will keep arguing about whether it is constitutional or not to pay fire-fighters, or the equality of husband and wife in domestic chores (who should remove the combustibles), until the actual explosion blows their enfeebled brains all over the neighbourhood.

Now, let us get back to my chart. I know it is going to be somewhat boring. But my purpose is not to entertain you but to explain what my former KGB bosses consider important for your "liberation".

3.1. Stage one: demoralisation

This process has many names: psychological warfare, ideological aggression, propaganda warfare etc. The KGB calls it "Active Measures". Since my defection from the USSR embassy in 1970, I have been trying desperately to explain to the Western media, politicians, "intelligence

The subversion process		
Areas	**Methodes**	**Result**
⇒ **Demoralisation:**	**15 to 20 years**	
Ideas		
1. Religion	politicize, commercialise, entertainment	death wish
2. Education	permissiveness, relativity	ignorance
3. Media	monopolise, manipulate, discredit, non-issue	uninformed myopia
4. Culture	false heroes and role models	addictive fads mass
Structure		
1. Law and Order	legislative not moral	mistrust justice
2. Social relations	rights vs. obligations	less individual responsibilities
3. Security	intelligence, police, military	defencelessness
4. Internal Politics	party, antagonisms	disunity
5. Foreign affairs	salt... friends	isolation
Life		
1. Family society	break up	no loyalty (state)
2. Health	sport, medicare, food	enfeebled masses
3. Race	lover the uppers, bible? genetics vs. environment	hatred division
4. Population	de-land, urbanize	alienation
5. Labour	Unions vs. Society	victimisation
⇒ **Destabilisation:**	**2 to 5 years**	
1. Power struggle	Populism, irresponsible power struggle	big brother
2. Economy	destruction of bargaining process	yield to big brother
3. Society Fiber, Law	grass roots participation	mobocracy
4. Foreign	isolation, multi-nations, central economy	prestige, belligerent, encirclement
⇒ **Crisis:**	**2 to 5 months**	
⇒ **Normalisation**	**"permanent"**	

Figure 8: This chart shows the four stages of Soviet ideological subversion: demoralization, destabilization, crisis, and normalization. The methods used by the subverter in the different areas of life produce their desired results in a country that does not resist the subversion process.

community" and your "academic-sovietologists" that Active Measures are more important and dangerous than classic espionage–James Bond style.

John Barron ominously titled one chapter of his book, dedicated to analysis of the Active Measures, "Reality Upside Down". Excellent title! This is exactly what my KGB gurus of subversion in 'Novosti' Press Agency taught me. One of the main tactics in this process is to develop, establish and consistently enforce a set of 'double standards': one in relation to the USSR, another to the USA.

Western analysts have already pointed out the diverse tactics of "Active Measures." Some of these were exactly the ones I was trained to use while working with foreign delegations in Moscow and the USSR embassy in New Delhi:

- overt and covert propaganda;
- use of "Agents of Influence," faked 'International Forums' created by KGB/Novosti to bring the atmosphere of legitimacy and respectability to Soviet operations;
- provoking and manipulating mass demonstrations and assemblies;
- spreading rumours and 'reliable information from circles close to Politbureau';
- forgeries of USA Information Service press-releases;
- planting phony stories in local media;
- creating hundreds of tabloid newspapers subsidized by the USSR embassy through front organizations and fake 'advertising' companies for the purpose of 'legally' financing groups of subversives and radicals, etc.

Other tactics, such as sabotage, character assassination of 'stubborn' Indians resisting Soviet subversion, terrorism and even occasional killings

of 'reactionaries and counterrevolutionaries' for the psychological effect of 'paralyzing with fear'—these also were used by my KGB colleagues from other departments of the USSR embassy.

I am less familiar with these aspects of the subversion process. My role as a 'legitimate' and overt public relations man and a 'charismatic' socializer was directed by the KGB mainly at the initial stage of subversion. After a certain period of befriending and 'cultivating' foreigners, I had to provide my KGB supervisor with my 'psychological assessment' of the target individual (or group) and pass them over to the "professionals" for further 'processing' and recruitment. Nevertheless, I was able to reconstruct the overall picture of the process rather accurately, and, unlike the Western 'sovietologists', come to more systematic and logical description of subversion.

What I offer you now is a chart as simple as a multiplication table and as complex as calculus. This is *the first time* this chart has ever been published, in its entirety.

Let us start with the first stage of *demoralisation*. It takes about 15 to 20 years to demoralize a nation. Why that many (or few)? Simple: this is the minimum number of years needed to 'educate' *one generation* of students in a target country (America, for example) and expose them to the ideology of the subverter. It is imperative that any sufficient challenge and counter-balance by the basic moral values and ideology of this country be eliminated. In absence of *any* cohesive and consistent national ideology, the task of the subverter becomes even easier. In the USA, as we all know, there is *mulitiplicity* of ideas and ideologies today, without proper emphasis on the main and basic American ideology of the original republic and the free market system. It is not even considered 'intellectual' or fashionable these days to subscribe entirely to this 'outmoded' set of ideas.

To be successful, the process of subversion at the stage of *demoralisation* must be always and only a *two-way* street which means that the target nation *must* be made a *recipient*—passive or active—of the *ideas* of the subverter. Democracy is by definition a *recipient* of a multiplic-

ity of ideologies and values, whether good or bad. Unfortunately 'bad' ideas are often proven and revealed only after a long period of time, during which many have absorbed them and allowed them to change their nation's attitudes and behaviour. Ancient Japanese rulers understood this principle very well when they virtually *isolated* their nation from *any* foreign influence–good, bad or neutral. Imperial Japan was 'preserved' in its own set of historical values long enough to bring up a mature and morally stable nation able to make the change to an entirely new technological civilization with negligible damage to national fibre. More than that: the Japanese, although reluctantly, opened up to Western values and surpassed the West in the shortest possible historical span since the World War II, becoming one of the greatest industrialized and technologically advanced powers in the world. Without such 'maturity' a nation may illconceive even the most favourable foreign influence which is clearly demonstrated by a number of 'decolonized' Third World countries prematurely embracing parliamentary democracy.

But if and when an outside influence is purposely ill-intended, an immature nation–or a nation with a neglected indigenous ideology (America)–automatically becomes a recipient of *subversion* in its early stage of *demoralization*.

The successful demoralization is an *irrevocable* process, at least for another generation. Why? Let us take an example: the semiliterate and unstable American generation of the 'crazy' 1960's is now approaching the age of 40. These people, who were too preoccupied with protesting the Vietnam war, the drug/rock music scene, taking part in 'love-ins' etc., to study and prepare for assuming their civil responsibilities, are now in positions of power and decision-making in government, business, media, social life, entertainment (Hollywood), military, and intelligence services. Not all of them? OK, some of them are. You are *stuck* with them, until they retire or resign. You can not fire them–it's against union regulations. You cannot, unlike the USSR, send them to Alaska, after declaring them 'enemies of people'. You can not even openly and effectively criticize them–they have invaded the media and control public opinion. Unless

you want to be called 'McCarthyist', you cannot change their attitudes and mores. At this age people are usually 'set' in their ways as individuals. You are stuck with them. *They* change your attitudes and opinions, they navigate the domestic and foreign affairs, they are making decisions and choices for *you*, whether you like it or not.

To change the direction of America's future and to return to the basic American values, proven to be efficient and productive for almost 200 years of historically unprecedented freedom and affluence, you have to educate a *new* generation of Americans, this time in the spirit of patriotism and *capitalism*. All right, you don't want to 'return'. You'd rather have something new and progressive *and* constructive, to make America once again respected and loved all over the world, so that the recipients of the U.S. aid no longer shout 'Yankee Go Home'? In any case, even if you start the education of a *new* generation of Americans *right this minute*, it will take you the next 15 to 20 years to raise this new generation to the levels of power and authority.

You may reduce this period of time if you can make an enormous *all-nation* effort in an atmosphere of prevailing *unity* and *consensus*. It will take a miracle (or another national disaster, such as a new world war, God forbid) to make Americans embrace *one* American ideology and to act in *one* direction after decades of disunity, dispute, partisan antagonisms and self-castigation.

Therefore, let's be realistic: the *demoralization*, whether self-inflicted or imported, is usually an *irreversible*—for one generation at least—process.

The three levels of demoralization

Now, let us see the same stage of demoralization from the standpoint of the *subverter*. Communist manipulators divide the areas of *application* of their efforts into *three levels*. The process of demoralization operates simultaneously on all three levels, which I call for the sake of simplicity:

- the level of *ideas* (consciousness)

- the level of *structures* (socio-political set up of a nation)
- the level of *life* (which includes all the areas of *material* existence of a nation, the 'fibre of life' so to say).

Level One: Ideas Rule The World

The level of *ideas*, the highest level of subversion, affects such vital areas as religion, education, media, and culture, to name just a few of the most important ones. If we look back in history of mankind, we may notice that the greatest upheavals and changes were caused by *ideas*, by faiths and beliefs, not by *knowledge* or *things*.

Religion Few people sacrifice their comforts and lives for such trivial things as a new car. Scientific knowledge seldom generates strong collective emotions. Many scientists have preferred life and affluence to death for scientific truth. I have never heard of a man who would staunchly face a firing squad for the sake of defending the truth of the Law of Gravity or $2 \times 2 = 4$. But *faith* in the seemingly irrelevant (at the time) and immaterial teachings of Jesus Christ generated such tremendous *moral force* in *millions* of human beings for the past *two thousand years*, that people willingly and happily accept violent death and tortures rather than deny their belief in Christ!

Communism and its Marxist-Leninist dogma, according to some thinkers (Dr. George Steiner for one), is another distorted form of *faith*, able to inspire martyrdom in millions. Substituting the traditional values of the Judeo-Christian heritage with this Marxist-Satanic faith is one of the basic principles of subversion at the stage of *demoralization*–the highest and most effective level of *ideas*. The methods are as primitive as they are predictable. You do not have to be a graduate of a KGB school or Harvard University to figure out what kind of *interaction* between the subverter (KGB) and target (American brains) occurs on this level.

All the *subverter*–be it Andropov's KGB or any other purposeful group or organization hell-bent on the idea of a "New World Order"–

has to do is to study the areas where your nation's *ideas* could be eroded and substituted, and then slowly but consistently affect these areas by sending infiltrating Agents of Influence to inject new ideas, desseminate propagandist literature, and encourage selfdestructive tendencies.

All subverter has to do to remove the spiritual backbone of America is to help you to *politicize*, *commercialize* and *'entertainment-alize'* the dominant religions. There are many other contributing factors the subverter can also take advantage of, such as the development and spreading of various religious cults, including Satanic and Death cults; preaching moral relativity and removing religion (and prayer, *any* prayer) from schools; creating 'personality cults' in religion whereby the preacher becomes the center and object of divine worship, not God (often your religious charlatans claims to be 'incarnations' of God, or even God Himself) etc.

I have selected the above three main methods because I am most familiar with them. These methods were used by myself and my KGB-Novosti colleagues and these methods have proven to be sufficiently efficient. We did not have to bother with such silliness for example as recruiting Billy Graham and forcing him to tell outrageous lies about "the existence of religious freedom in the Soviet Union" in state-run churches in Moscow.

Let's start with the most 'innocent' method of destroying religion, namely, making it ***entertaining***. To attract people *and money* to 'established' religious organizations some churches have literally become theaters conducting variety shows featuring celebrities from the entertainment 'industry' who perform for 'fees'. The KGB Agents of Influence may or may not have to physically manipulate these entertainment arrangements. The indiscriminate choice of the 'celebrities' for these church 'performances' is usually quite pleasing to the KGB. A group of rock or pop-musicians with a message of 'social-justice' sugar-coated in popular 'spiritual' tunes can be actually more helpful to the KGB than someone standing in the pulpit preaching Marxist-Leninist doctrine. The sugar-sweet messages of social equality from the crooning mouths of the

entertainers is quite enough to accomplish the aims of the KGB without any overt activity on their part.

Commercialization of religion does the same thing. If the church has to *solicit* your money and remind you over and over again in every TV show to contribute (with telephone numbers to pledge donations), that only means and infers that there is something basically wrong with your faith. Faithful people do not have to be *asked* for money, they tithe to their churches voluntarily and eagerly. Unhealthy competition for donations between various 'electronic churches' does two things beneficial to the subverter (KGB):

1. it makes religion dependent on the most successful 'salesmen' of God (and these salesman may not necessarily be, they *don't have* to be, of the highest moral standards) thus, truly moral, God-centered people are turned off by organized religion and

2. it *empties* regular churches, where you have to practice your religion by personal physical presence and participation and involvement.

All the subverter has to do now is to keep on further discrediting the main body of the church, by harping at religion in general as "just another means of the capitalist exploitation of masses, and a profit-oriented opiate of the people". And the Soviet propaganda, and its fronts such as 'Novosti' Press Agency does exactly that, and quite successfully, through thousands of 'liberal' and 'leftist' media establishments in the USA.

Politicizing religion is the most efficient method of demoralizing a target nation. Once a nation starts giving to Caesar what belongs to God, and getting God involved in such things as 'social justice' and partisan political squabbles, it predictably loses what religion calls mercy and the grace of God. To put it in 'atheistic' terms, a target country allows the subverter to use the area of moral values for dissemination and enforcement of amoral ideas and policies. The most powerful instrument of this process is an organization called World Council of Churches, infiltrated by the KGB to such extent, that it is hard to distinguish, these days, a

priest from a spy. Being a public relations officer for Novosti, I accompanied many foreign members of the WCC during their visits to the USSR. Some of them struck me as individuals pathologically unable to say or hear truth. They were simply allergic to any facts or opinions which would 'undermine' their 'spiritual' affiliation with the Soviet manipulators. Archbishop and president (!) Macarios of Cyprus was one such 'religious' visitor. Skillfully combining both God's and Caeser's things, Macarios was extremely effective in bringing the desperately needed air of legitimacy and 'holiness' to the junta of the Soviet mass murderers and oppressors of religion. His photogenic presence at various 'international forums' in Moscow greatly promoted *acceptability* of the Soviet influence in the 'non-aligned' and 'developing' countries.

When, after my defection to the West, I find Trotskyite publications in a United Church of Canada, or see Nicaraguan Catholic Church 'fathers' with Soviet-made Kalashnikov machine guns hung over their church robes, or read about 'humanitarian' aid from the American Council of Churches given to African mass-murderers and terrorists, who were trained in my old country by the KGB, I do not 'suspect' I *know* these things to be what they are—direct results of the Communist *subversion* of religion. I do not need any 'evidence' of 'links' between the KGB and the church. The complete confusion of God-related and politically subverted related goals are obvious.

In the extreme left colum of my chart you can see the *results* of *demoralization* in each individual area on each level of subversion. The result of the demoralization of religion is a phenomenon referred to as the "death wish". This expression is borrowed from a book by a Soviet dissident writer, Igor Shafarevich, titled "Socialism as a Historical Phenomenon". (YMCA Press, Paris, 1977) Dr. Shafarevich in analyzing the 'dead' civilizations of Egypt, Maya, Mohenjo-Dara, Babylon, etc., comes to an ominous conclusion: *every one of these civilizations died when people rejected religion and god, and tried to create 'social justice' along the socialist principles.* Thus, Socialism, according to Shafarevich, may be a manifestation of an inborn human instinct of *self-destruction*, if

unrestrained–leading ultimately to *physical death of all mankind.*

'Mass' education This is another area of subversion at the stage of demoralization. The Marxist-Leninist concept of education emphasizes 'environment' and 'mass' character of education over individual abilities and quality. When American media enthusiastically reports (repeating Soviet propaganda cliches) about 'achievements of Soviet science', they usually obscure the *ideological* aspects and purposes of the Communist system of education. 'Massiveness' and 'universality' of education attracts Western sociologists and governmental bureaucracies alike. For the 'developing' nations this seems to be the easiest short-cut to many contemporary problems.

The Western public seldom receives the explanation of *the price* of the state-controlled Socialist-type education: political conformity to dictatorship, ideological brainwashing, lack of individual initiative in 'educated masses', lagging behind in development of science and technology. It is a commonly known fact that most of the Soviet 'technological marvels' are stolen, bought or 'borrowed' from the West. Most of the scientific and technological research in the USSR is 'productive' only and always in the most destructive area: the military. My motherland is still, after more than half century of 'victorious Socialism', a country without even common household refrigerators, and yet boasts of their 'space exploration' and tremendous military might, which have done absolutely nothing to improve the day to day life of Soviet citizens.

The American romance with state-run education as encouraged by KGB subverters has already produced generations of graduates who cannot spell, cannot find Nicaragua on a world map, cannot *think* creatively and independently. I wonder if Albert Einstein would have arrived at his Theory of Relativity if he had been educated in one of today's American public schools. Most likely he would have 'discovered' marijuana and variant methods of sexual intercourse instead. Wouldn't you agree that KGB sponsored demoralization is no? going to produce the dynamic, talented and fruitful young Americans of the future? Contem-

porary American permissiveness and moral relativity in education have greatly facilitated Soviet ideological subversion tactics.

The main methods of Soviet *demoralization* of American education are:

1. Student Exchanges whereby American students and professors go to Moscow and are exposed to ideological brainwashing sometimes lacking the proper education that would allow them to assess the Soviet information they receive objectively.

2. Flooding of campus bookstores with Marxist and Socialist literature published both in the USSR and by domestic 'fellow travellers';

3. International seminars and conferences with Soviet participation, where Soviet propaganda seldom is balanced by opposing viewpoints;

4. Infiltration of schools and universities by radicals, leftists, and simply 'disturbers', often functioning unknowingly under the direct guidance of KGB Agents of Influence.

5. Establishing numerous 'student' newspapers and magazines, staffed with Communists and sympathizers;

6. Organizing 'study groups' and 'circles' for dissemination of Soviet propaganda and Communist ideology.

The eventual result is very predictable: ignorance combined with anti-Americanism. That's good enough for the KGB at this stage of subversion.

Media: lords of public opinion The American media is a willing recipient of Soviet subversion. I know this, because I worked with American journalists and correspondents in Moscow while on the Soviet side, and after my defection to the West. People habitually refer to the American media as 'free', ignoring the obvious and commonly known fact that most

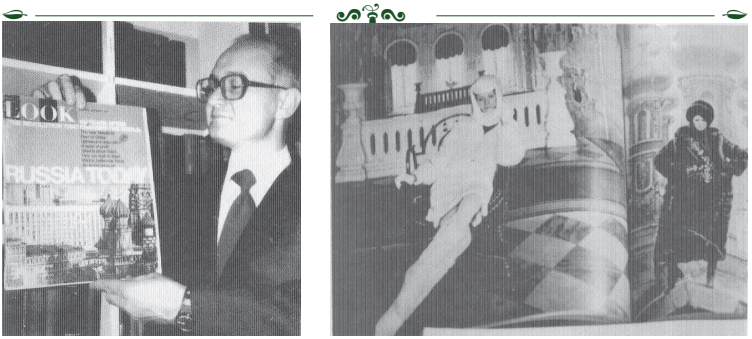


Figure 9: Tomas Schuman with a copy of 'Look" magazine he helped to produce as a Novosti manipulator. Right: Look's idea of 'Russian fashions' inspired by Novosti manipulators. 'All is fine in Soviet Russia after 50 years of Communism'–that was the message.

of the most powerful media in the USA, is already *monopolized* both financially and ideologically by what are referred to as 'liberals'. American media 'chains' *belong* to fewer and fewer owners, who, do not seem to mind that the media is being almost totally 'liberalized'. Liberalism, in its old classical sense, means above all, respect to individual opinion and tolerance to opposing views. However, in my own experience, communist defectors who have requested and sometimes literally begged, to have stories of their life in the Soviet Union told to the American people via the major American media have been completely ignored.

One of the most devastating methods of Soviet subversion in American media is the *discrediting* of authors like myself and the information and opinion of those who come up with clear evidence of Communist crimes against mankind. This method is well described in my forthcoming book entirely dedicated to the activity of the 'Novosti' Press Agency.

Introduction of *non-issues* is another powerful method of demoralizing at the level of *ideas*. It will take another full size book to describe in detail this method. Suffice it will be here to give a brief definition of *non-issues*. An issue, the solution of which creates more and bigger

Figure 10: Propaganda monument in Volgograd (above) as presented by the 'Look' magazine; Schuman (centre) with group of American guests, including Look's photographer Phillip Harrington, who took the pictures for the propaganda issue of Look magazine.

problems for majority of a nation, even though it may benefit a few, is a non-issue (civil rights of homosexuals is not an issue; defending sexual morality is the larger, real issue).

The main purpose of non-issues and the devastating result of their introduction is the *side-tracking* of public opinion, energy (both mental and physical), money and *time* from the constructive solutions. Soviet propaganda elevated the art of infiltrating and emphasizing non-issues in American public life to the level of actual state policy.

Addictive 'mass culture' Years ago, when I was scanning through a pile of Western newspa- pers in Novosti's Moscow headquarters, I came across a column written by a Canadian writer, Gregory Clark in the "Toronto Star". Here it is in full. I have saved it for my files;

> If I were a Communist agent in America with millions of dollars to spend annually I would not waste it in bribing pubic servants to give away state secrets. But I would lavish and encourage the sleazy tune-smiths of that region to turn out more and more garbage 'culture'... Gaggled-headed and obscure musicians would be helped to prominence. I would seek out the more questionable publishers of the dirtier paperbacks and slip them a few hundred thousand so they

> could set up more respectable head offices. Wherever trend shows towards the beat generation I would offer it a helping hand. Anything that prompted the insubordination of teenagers, anything that contributes to the confusion and exasperation of parents would be most liberally endowed. The basic intention of my spending would be to break down the discipline, encourage relaxation of authority of every kind so as to build up, in as short time as possible, an adult generation that could easily go out of control.
>
> America would look desperately around for any kind of discipline to rescue them and *there*—pretty as a picture, would be Communism, the most iron-fisted discipline since Sparta. The victory would be bloodless... Except of course in concentration camps, torture, prisons, and few things like that. But nobody would know about that because of censorship of the press.

This was written in 1959! The accuracy of this description of *our* activity stunned me. We had just completed 'helping a gaggle-head- ed' Communist entertainer, Yves Montand to 'prominence' in Moscow and were halfway through with publicly elevating 'obscure' Indian film-maker Raj Kapoor to 'fame'. The editorial offices of Novosti were teaming with 'sleazy' foreign singers, poets, writers, artists, musicians and 'intellectuals' coming to my country for sup- port in their 'progressive struggle' against their own 'decadent capitalist' societies...

There is not much I can add to that statement of a wise Canadian columnist today. Yes, KGB encourages *demoralization* of America through the 'mass culture' by relying upon the help of the *useful idiots* of the entertainment business. No, the Beatles, Punks and Michael Jackson are not on the KGB payroll. They are on *your* payroll. All the KGB had to do is to slowly and gradually *change your attitudes* and kill your *resistance* to the demoralizing addiction your kids call 'music', make it acceptable, *normal*; make it a part of 'American culture' where it does not belong and never did.

Figure 11: A typical 'press conference' at the Indian Embassy in Moscow. At least half of the 'journalists' are KGB agents. Indian ambassador Kewal Singh (1) probably did not mind. Tomas Schuman (4) does his job as Novosti-KGB agent.

The second level of demoralization: Structures

There is a Russian proverb which says: *"The sly head gives no rest to the arms"*. Let us see what Communist subversion does to your "arms"–the socio/political/economical *structures* of America. The areas of application for demoralizing American structures are:

1. Judicial and Law-enforcement system;
2. Public organizations and institutions dealing with *relations* between individuals, groups and classes of the society;
3. Security and defense organs;
4. Internal political parties and groups;
5. Foreign policy formulating bodies both governmental and non-governmental ("think-tanks", academia, "sovietology advisors" etc.)

Law and Order In the area of "Law and Order", the method of demoralization is to promote and enforce the prevalence of the "legalistic"

approach over the "moral" one. Several generations of American lawyers and lawmakers, graduating from the 'liberal' (that is *leftist*, Socialist-oriented) schools, after long-time exposure to the Socialist *ideology*, have already created an atmosphere in the U.S. judicial system whereby "underprivileged" criminals are treated as a "victims" of the "cruel American society", and the real victim (the law- abiding society) is turned into defenseless and very underprivileged citizens and taxpayers, *paying* for a comparatively comfortable life of the criminal in or outside prison. The result is as predictable as it is desirable for the subverter: *mistrust* of the American popu- lation towards their own judicial and law-enforcement system, and people demanding harsher punishments and stricter *controls* in order to fight crime. And what could be better than Soviet or Communist-type control? Even your 'liberal' media claims that there is no street crime in Moscow and no drug problem in the USSR.

Similarly, in the area of social life, by encouraging you to put your individual *rights* over your *obligations* (any obligations–private, financial, moral, patriotic etc.) the subverter achieves the desired effect: a society composed of *irresponsible individuals*, each one "doing h is own thing", and acting according to the "law of jungle". Such subversion of society is the first step to tyranny.

To demoralize America's *protective forces* it is enough to make your kids call the police "pigs" and "fascists" for a decade, disband police agencies watching over subverters and radicals by calling them "spies" (that is exactly what American Union of Civil Liberties did), stage campaign after campaign of discreditation and "investigation" of the wrongdoings" of the police, and in 20 years you arrive at the present situation, when the majority of civilian population of this nation is virtually without civil laws or protection from murderers, lunatics, criminals, etc. Can you now expect your police and civil authorities to protect you and your family in case of terrorist attack or a major civil disturbance?

The American FBI and CIA have had no better treatment. Americans are *made* to believe that your own security agencies pose more danger than the Soviet KGB. There were dozens of "revelations" and

exposes on the CIA during the last 10 to 15 years. But there was not a *single* public trial of any Sovie agent of the KGB caught in the USA "red-handed". There were numerous expulsions of Soviet 'diplomats' yes. But an equal or greater number of them came to America to replace their 'fallen comrades'.

There is not a *single* law in America which could be used to legally persecute KGB agents for ideological subversion. But there is a law that prevents your CIA from using *your* media to vindicate their acts to protect *you* against the KGB subversion. Your media and your Hollywood entertainers lovingly repeat every fabrication of Soviet propaganda regarding the CIA 'atrocities', mixing it with truth, half-truth and blatant lie. Demoralizers like Larry Flint regularly entertain the public with juicy stories about 'CIA assassinations' sandwiched between pornographic pictures in his magazine. Do you remember when you saw an American film or read a book about the "good CIA"? I do not imply that pornographer Flint or members of Rockefeller commission on CIA are on the KGB payroll. But obviously pornography, as well as political prostitution pays. It sells 'Hustler' magazine, it sells' politicians... and it kills the security of America. Criticism of the KGB does not pay. In fact, critics of KGB subverters may get killed in the process. What are you, my dear Americans? A nation of masochists and cowards? When you read and listen to all this dirt poured upon your security agencies by the media and politicians, can't you realize, that the most just and factual criticism of the CIA is wrongly addressed? Security agencies of America (unlike the KGB) are *instruments* in the hands of a nation and her elected *politicians*. One should not blame an instrument, when it is the *operator's* fault. If the instrument malfunctions–*correct* it, and don't use a hammer where a fine screwdriver is needed.

Very often American media presents a picture of CIA and FBI as a 'mirror reflection' of the KGB and its 'fraternal services'. False. The KGB is a *power* which systematically and ruthlessly *murdered* about *sixty million* of my countrymen, and still engages in the killing of innocent defenceless people all over the world. How many were killed by the CIA?

Do numbers (and 'quality' too) matter at all to you? Or was comrade Stalin right, when he said that *one* person shot is a tragedy, but 1 million is statistics?

Now let's look at how you treat your military. What is the image of the military presented to you and the rest of the world in the American press and the electronic media? If there is a U.S. general, he is called a trigger-happy 'warmonger', a 'hawk' and 'aggressor'. One of the most popular TV series–M.A.S.H.–presents your military as a bunch of very humorous, hysterically funny bunch of psychotics, queers, alcoholics and otherwise rather unruly characters. Recently I saw a film titled "Rage", where the Pentagon is depicted as a cruel experimentor, testing chemical weapons on unsuspecting American farmers. And it is shown on TV exactly at the very same time when Soviets are using chemical weapons in Afghanistan, Cambodia and Laos, and provide the same to their Iraqi 'brothers' for their fraternal genocide in Persian Gulf. Have you *ever* seen a movie or a TV series about *that*? Every American student knows the name of the Vietnamese village Mi-Lai and what it stands for, namely, an "American war crime." Do you remember the name of the Soviet pilot who shot down the Korean passenger airliner with 269 passengers aboard, including some 60 Americans and a US senator? Do you remember the name of that senator? Does anybody in America *ever* learn from American media the names of thousands of Cambodian and Afghani villages *totally exterminated* by the Soviet military? Where is Jane Fonda and Dr. Spock, who used to express so much concern and love for Vietnamese and Cambodians when the US military was there?

The 'double standard' applied and enforced and *legitimized* by the manipulators of public opinion in the USA is a direct result of the long-term process of the *demoralization* of the *image* of the *US military* in the minds of millions all over the world. The result? Study the chart...

'Quiet Diplomacy' or surrender? There are hundreds of volumes written about the ways Communists use foreign relations for their purposes. There are *none* which reveal the link between the failures of

American diplomacy and the process of demoralization. From time to time defectors from the Communist side, such as Arkady Shevchenko, the USSR representative in the UN, give breath-taking accounts on how the Communists are using 'diplomacy' for subversion. And yet all the crowds of "experts" and "kremlinologists" are seemingly unable to put the pieces together and to raise their voices *against* dealing with the Communists in a 'diplomatic' way.

Many public figures have noted that most of Americans do not want to hear unpleasant things. Politicians in the USA know this. So does the KGB. Every American administration has contributed to the process of *demoralization* of their own foreign policy by continuously negotiating and *signing* "peace treaties" From the "Lend Lease" to the "Helsinki Accord" to the "SALT" treaties, creating false expectations and voter complacency and *never* openly and honestly admitting that *none* of those agreements and treaties *ever worked*–for America that is–they *all* benefited the USSR however. In the process America has lost *most* of her foreign friends to the 'Socialist camp'–Concentration camp, to be precise. Presently the USA is rapidly nearing a situation of *total isolation* from the rest of the world. Even our long-time friend Great Britain did not support America, even verbally, on the liberation of Grenada, despite the obvious fact that America was on the British side in the ridiculous war over the Falkland Islands.

What could be more amoral than the 'peace with honour' signed by Kissinger with Hanoi Communists?–ask the Vietnamese 'boat people'. When someone makes a deal with a murderer we call him 'accomplice in crime', we don't award him with 'Nobel Peace Prize'. Or do we? What should we call this kind of foreign policy which is both amoral *and* hurts America?

Level Three: Unhealthy Body–Unhealthy Mind

Very similar methods are being used in the area of medical and health services and sports, (as part of an activity meant to keep the population healthy). By encouraging 'professionalism' in spectator sports rather than

encouraging individual sports participation, America enfeebles herself as a nation. Most American adults who 'love sports' watch TV sports programs, while munching pretzels with their beer, and *not* taking physical participation in sports activity. Unlike in the USSR, sports is not a *compulsory* part of elementary education in America. Impressive victories of Soviet athletes at international competitions further facilitate the *ideas of the supremacy of socialism* in the area of public health, thus convincing more and more Americans of the need to emulate the Soviet system and introduce it into the American schools.

What many Americans do not realize, is that what they see on their TV screens is not *real* Soviet sport. The majority of the USSR population is not 'athletic' at all; they are sick from the lack of correct nutrition and alcoholism. Soviet athletes are state-created exceptions to the general national deterioration in the USSR.

A similar myth is being promoted in the U.S. about 'free health care' in the USSR. While working in Moscow, accompanying numerous foreign delegations and showing them 'regular' medical facilities in clinics and kolkhos hospitalsr—my guests did not all realize that I was taking them to specially prepared 'exclusive' medical establishments, 'only for the eyes of foreigners'. When I arranged interviews with Soviet doctors, telling my guests about the 'glorious achievements' of Soviet surgery, some of them had no way of checking if these 'achievements' were available to USSR collective farmers or workers in Siberia. They are not. And many Americans know about this, although they have never visited my old country. Yet the tendency of U.S. bureaucrats is to enlarge the state-run medicare, despite the fact that, as shown in the USSR and elsewhere, socialized medicine is sub-standard, less efficient, and most definitely less progressive than privately owned and operated medical facilities within a properly functioning free market system.

Demoralization in the area of food *consumption* patterns is also effective in the introduction of such things as 'junk foods'. No, KGB agents do not put chemicals into American food and drink. It is done by some American mega-monopolies who operate along the same principles

as Soviet 'Obshchepit' (Public Food Service): they look at consumers as 'units of consumers', not individuals. Abolishing freely competing *small* food companies, who *had to treat you individually* to survive economically, these giants of indigestion artificially *create* consumers' tastes and demands which may not be in the interests of your health but surely in the interests of the monopoly profit. And here I tend to agree, at least in part, with America's ralph-naders, and consumer protection groups, althoughl do not share their ideas on the solution of the problem.

Racial and ethnic interrelations is one of the most vulnerable areas for demoralization. There is not a single Communist country where racial groups are 'equal' and enjoy as much freedom to develop themselves culturally and economically as in America. Actually, there are not too many "capitalist" countries where ethnic minorities have it as good as in the U S A. I have been to many countries of the world and I can state to you, my dear Americans, that your society is the least discriminatory. The Communist 'solution' for racial problem is 'final': they simply murder those who are different *and* stubbornly insist on remaining different. Stalin played with whole populations of "ethnics'—"resettling' Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians in Siberia, relocating Crimean Tartars from the tropics to permafrost and Koreans from the Far East to the Kazakhstan deserts. But unfortunately, an 'average' American never recalls these commonly known facts when his attention is drawn to domestic 'racial discrimination' issues by those who profess 'racial harmony' along the socialist principle guidelines. Why? Simple: because American 'race discrimination fighters' *never mention* these facts. If the USA were located on a separate planet from the Communists, I would probably agree with Martin Luther King when he said that "America is a racist country". But when these statements are made on *this* planet and in *the most integrated nation in the world*, I say to your 'fighters for racial equality': you are hypocrites and instruments (even if unwilling) of *demoralization*.

Demoralization in such areas as family life, health services, interracial relations, population control and distribution and labor relations I call the '*life*' level.

Marxist-Leninist ideology coated in various indigenous "social theories" have greatly contributed to the process of American family break-up. The trend recently is changing in the opposite direction, but many generations of Americans, brought up in broken families, are already adults lacking one of the most vital qualities for the survival of a nation–*loyalty*. A child who has not learned to be loyal to his family will hardly make a loyal citizen. Such child may grow into adult who is loyal to the State though. The USSR example is rather revealing in this case. In the struggle for the 'final victory of Communism', the goal of the subverter is to substitute, as slowly and painlessly as possible, the concept of loyalty for *nation* with loyalty to the "Big Brother" welfare state, who gives everything and is able to *take* everything, including personal freedom–from every citizen. If that objective is successfully achieved, the subverter does not need any nuclear warheads and tanks and may not even need the physical military *invasion*. All that will be needed is to 'elect' a 'progressive thinking' president who will be voted to power by Americans, who have been addicted to welfare and 'security' as defined by Soviet subverters.

The American traditional solution of racial and ethnic problems is slow but efficient: the 'melting pot' which raises the less developed groups to a *higher* level. It has worked for more than a century of American history and created the most harmonious and productive nation on Earth. The present day 'solution' to racial inequality is borrowed from Communist mythology: *equality* of all racial and ethnic groups *legislated* by the government and *enforced* by state bureaucracies. We know perfectly well that neither races nor *individuals* are equal, in every respect. We know that every nation and race has its peculiar character, abilities, traditions, mentality, and ability to learn and its individual *pace of development*. By mimicking the Soviet 'national policy' of equality America simply erases the distinct racial characteristics that have made this country great.

Very briefly on population distribution: urbanization and "de- landization" (the taking away of private land) is the greatest threat to American

nationhood. Why? Because the poor farmer often is a greater *patriot* than an affluent dweller of a large congested American city. Communists know this very well. The Soviets keep a very tight control over the size of their cities by the system of 'police registration of residence' called 'propiska'. They know perfectly well that the farmer will fight an invader until last bullet *on his land*. "Underprivileged" or urbanized masses on the other hand, may feel like meeting an invader with flowers and red banners. *alienation* of people from privately-owned land is one of the very important methods of *demoralization*.

And, finally, we have come to the last but not least important area: labor relations. I don't think I have to tell you about ideological infiltration of some labour unions in the USA. This is a well documented part of your history. Moscow 'International Trade-Union School', a KGB incubator for agents, takes care of physical infiltration of labor unions. And that is also well known (even to the CIA) in fact.

What I would like you to think about today is this: what sort of *morality* it takes to make medical nurses leave sick and dying patients in hospital beds and walk out to strike for fifty cents an hour more in pay? OK, for a full *dollar* more? What makes unionized electricians leave a city without power in the middle of a severe winter and let several children in "under privileged" slums freeze to *death*? How desperate for money must a unionized truck driver be to *shoot to death* a strike-breaking colleague, father of five? Surely, each individual American, who commits these outrageously *amoral* acts is not that cruel and egocentric. And, let's face it, not *that* broke. So, why? My answer is–*ideological demoralization*.

The bargaining process in American labor in many instances is no longer motivated by the desire to *improve* working conditions and wages. In many cases it is not bargaining at all–it's blackmail. And in the process of the unlimited growth of union *power*, the American worker loses the only relevant and real freedom he has in this country: the freedom to choose, to work or not to work, and for how much. If an individual prefers to work for *lower* pay (and it must be his free individual choice),

he often is no longer able to do so. I have just mentioned what happens to strike-breakers in America.

3.2. Stage two: destabilization

Here the efforts of subverter narrow down to the "essentials": the internal power structures of a target nation; the nation's foreign relations; economy and "social fiber". If the preceding stage of *demoralization* is successful, the subverter no longer has to bother about your *ideas* and your *life*. Now he gets to the 'spinal cord' of your country and helps *you* to bring your own society into the state of *destabilization*. That may take from 2 to 5 years, depending on the maturity of a nation and its ability to mobilize for resistance.

Power Struggle

The first symptom of instability is expressed as the desire of the population to bring to power those politicians and parties who are charismatic, act like good "caretakers" and promise more "security"–not from external and foreign enemies, but rather, job "security", "free" social services and other "pleasure strokes" provided by "Big Brother". By concentrating the attention of a nation on short-term solutions and "improvements", such irresponsible politicians simply procrastinate on facing "the moment of truth", when the nation will have to pay a much higher price for the main and basic problem–bringing country back to stability and restoring the moral fiber.

A compounding factor at this stage is the so-called "grass root" participation of the 'masses' in the political process. Demoralized and enfeebled 'masses' tend to grab the 'easiest' short-cut solution to social ills and socialism seems to them to be the best answer. Traditional national institutions no longer appear efficient. They are gradually replaced by artificially created 'citizen's committees' and 'boards' which acquire more and more

political power. These bodies which are in essence, mirror reflections of the totalitarian structures of power, are more and more 'responsive' to mob-ocracy, the rule of of the crowd of radicalised *consumers*. At the same time, the backbone of the economy–the free bargaining process–gradually yields to the principle of 'planned economy' and 'centralization'. With the final destruction of the free bargaining process the predominant economic power moves into the hands of "Big Brother", the State, which functions more and more 'in cahoots' with mega-monopolies and monopolized labour unions. The famous 'division of powers' no longer governs the judicial, legislative and executive lines, but rather is replaced by bureaucracy in government, bureaucracy in business and bureaucracy in labour.

In the area of foreign relations America is being pushed further and further into isolationism and defeatism. Few remaining friends look with horror at the destiny of those nations who were betrayed and abandoned by the USA and try to find 'their own solutions', which often comes as 'establishing friendly relations' with the USSR and its Communist empire. The belligerent encirclement of America proceeds with an ever-increasing pace and demoralized politicians are no longer able or willing to face the inevitable reality. Soviet and Cuban military supplies and direct intervention seem to the US legislators to be less dangerous, than America's 'losing face' by 'violating international laws' by mining Nicaraguan ports to prevent the export of Communist revolution to the region. The majority of Americans are made to believe that it is their country–America–who 'violates' international law, not the USSR and its surrogates. The average American may not even realize that the 'International Court' is nothing but an artificial creature of the Soviet-controlled General Assembly of the UN.

All through this stage of *destabilization*, Western 'multinational' monopolies continue to trade, extend credits, supply technology and 'diplomatically' appease the *subverter*–the Central Committee of the USSR. In total disregard of the interests of the peoples of America and the USSR, these two giants continue to extend aid to each other. American

media keeps talking about 'frictions' between the *nations* (USA-USSR)! What 'frictions'? Comrade Pertov in Omsk has *no frictions* with Mr. Smith in Pittsburg. In fact, they never had a chance to meet each other thanks to Helsinki Accord. Comrade Petrov, though *has frictions* with his oppressors–the Kremlin junta, which sends him to make war on Afghanistan, Vietnam, Angola and Nicaragua. Comrade Petrov does not want war with America. Neither does Mr. Smith want to fight 'Russia'. But they may have to if the *destabilization* process is successful in America. Once it is, the situation inevitably slides into...

3.3. Crisis, stage three

It may take only 2 to 6 months, to bring America to the same situation which now exists South of the border in Central America. At this third stage of subversion you will have all your American 'radicals' and Soviet 'sleeper' agents springing into action, trying to 'seize power as quickly and ruthlessly as possible' (see the 'Rules of Revolution' in the beginning of this booklet). If all the previous stages of Soviet subversion have been successfully completed by that time, the majority of Americans will be so totally confused that they may even *welcome* some "strong" leaders who 'know how to talk to the Russians'. Chances are these leaders will be elected and given almost unlimited 'emergency powers'. A forceful change of the U.S. system may or may not be accomplished through a civil war or internal revolution, and a physical *military* invasion by the USSR may not even have to take place at all. But change it will be, and rather a drastic one, with all the familiar attributes of Soviet 'progress' being instituted such as *nationalization* of vital industries, the reduction of the 'private sector' of the economy to the bare minimum, the redistribution of wealth and a massive propaganda campaign by the newly 'elected' government to 'explain' and justify the reforms.

No–no concentration camps and executions. Not yet. That will come later at the stage of...

3.4. Normalization: the fourth and last stage

Any normal nation would definitely resist such a 'progressive change'. As I have just described. And according to the 'classics of Marxism-Leninism' there will arise pockets of resistance, shortly after the takeover consisting of the 'enemy classes and counter-revolutionaries' who will physically resist the new system. Some Americans may take to arms and flee to the mountains (as in Afghanistan). Reforms (or *destruction* to be more accurate) of the security agencies, (police and military) by the new government may lead to a situation of 'split loyalties' among law enforcement officers and render the majority of the population defenseless. At this point, to avoid 'the bloodshed', the subverter moves to *normalization*, a term borrowed from the Soviet propaganda of 1968–from the time of the Soviet 'fraternal' invasion of Czechoslovakia. Comrade Brezhnev called that '*normalization*. And he was right: the vanquished country was brought *by force* into the *normal* state of *socialism*: namely, subjugation.

This is when my dear friends, you will start seeing 'friendly' Soviet soldiers in the streets of our cities working together with American soldiers and the 'new' police force to 'restore law and order'. Very soon your yesterday's American socialist radicals and *do-gooders* who were working so hard to bring 'progress' to their own country will find themselves *in prisons* and hastily-built concentration camps. Many of them will be *executed*, quietly or publicly. Why? Simple: the Soviet 'liberators' will have no further use for the 'disturbers'. The 'useful idiots' will have completed their work. From then on the New Order will need *stability* and *new morality*. No more 'grass roots' movements. No more criticism of the State. The Press will obediently censor itself. In fact, this censorship is already existing *now*, imposed by the so-called U.S. 'liberals' and socialist do-gooders.

You will now have the opportunity to 'enjoy' exactly the same life as the Vietnamese, Cambodians, Angolans and Nicaraguans, betrayed

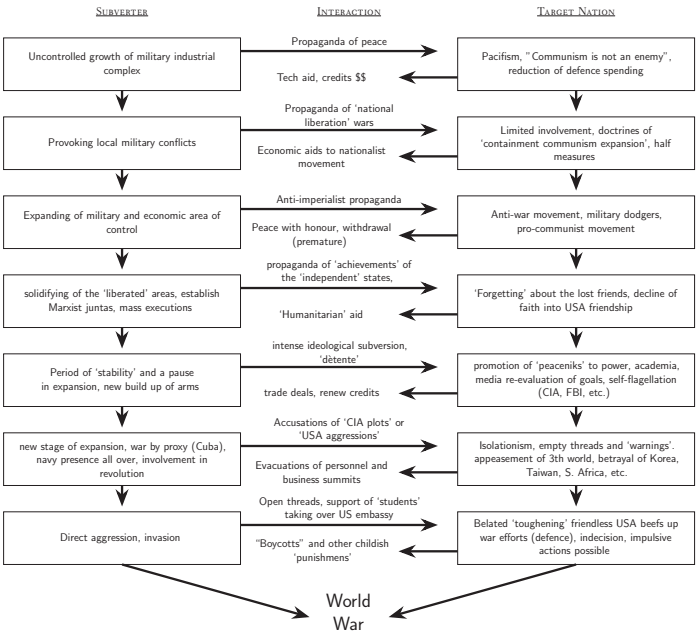

Subverter
Interaction
Target Nation
Uncontrolled growth of military industrial complex
Propaganda of peace
Tech aid, credits $$
Pacifism, "Communism is not an enemy", reduction of defence spending
Provoking local military conflicts
Propaganda of 'national liberation' wars
Economic aids to nationalist movement
Limited involvement, doctrines of 'containment communism expansion', half measures
Expanding of military and economic area of control
Anti-imperialist propaganda
Peace with honour, withdrawal (premature)
Anti-war movement, military dodgers, pro-communist movement
solidifying of the 'liberated' areas, establish Marxist juntas, mass executions
propaganda of 'achievements' of the 'independent' states,
'Humanitarian' aid
'Forgetting' about the lost friends, decline of faith into USA friendship
Period of 'stability' and a pause in expansion, new build up of arms
intense ideological subversion, 'détente'
trade deals, renew credits
promotion of 'peaceniks' to power, academia, media re-evaluation of goals, self-flagellation (CIA, FBI, etc.)
new stage of expansion, war by proxy (Cuba), navy presence all over, involvement in revolution
Accusations of 'CIA plots' or 'USA aggressions'
Evacuations of personnel and business summits
Isolationism, empty threads and 'warnings'. appeasement of 3th world, betrayal of Korea, Taiwan, S. Africa, etc.
Direct aggression, invasion
Open threads, support of 'students' taking over US embassy
"Boycotts" and other childish 'punishmens'
Belated 'toughening' friendless USA beefs up war efforts (defence), indecision, impulsive actions possible
World War

Figure 12: This chart explains in detail the steps in the subversion process from the destabilization stage to the crisis stage (see chart of "The Subversion Process" on page 29) in the areas of economics, military, and diplomatic relations. The longer arrow indicates the action of the subverter; the smaller arrow indicates the response of the target nation to the actions of the subverter.

by you enjoy *now*. This state of social '*normalization*' may last forever, that is–your life-time and life-times of you children and grandchildren...

4. It will never happen here!

What if it does happen here? Why take chances? What are the *solutions*? There are different solutions for different stages of subversion. If a nation has enough common sense to *stop* subversion at the very beginning of the *demoralization* stage, you may never need the painful and drastic solutions needed to deal with the *crisis* stage.

The most general solution I can offer–for the whole process of *subversion*–is to *stop aiding the subverter*. You are still living in a free society and you are able to force your elected politicians to change their policies toward the Communist world if you so choose. But if *you*, personally do not see anything wrong in dealing with the Communists and *helping* them in their global expansion, I feel that you should begin learning more about the reality of the Communist/Socialist situation, not from your monopolized media, but from the independent media and press who have no vested interest in making out the Soviet Union to be the 'good guys,' and from people like myself, who have experienced Communism first-hand for many years. There are numerous American patriotic groups and organizations who are well informed and who already have many *solutions*, to combat the damage done by ideological subversion some of which are as good or even better than mine. Seek these groups, join them and *do* something.

This booklet is my love letter to America. I did not write it to frighten or threaten the nation that I love for its freedom, its principles, its ideals. But if you were walking across the street with a friend and saw a car barreling down upon you both that your friend did not see, would you say nothing to your friend and move out of the way, leaving him to be hit? Of course not and I do not intend to do that to you.

In my next booklet, I will cover the full solutions to the problem of ideological subversion. I sincerely hope you will be reading it.

Love,

Tomas Schuman

II. World Thought Police

5. Preface

We notice (if at all) the tragedy only in it's last act—when Soviet-made tanks screech into the streets of foreign capitals. We tend to overlook how it all starts... We are being told later, by the media and the 'experts', that—first, the 'oppressed masses' revolt against their corrupt 'rightist' regimes; then, we are told, the new 'people's democracy' is established, and it immediately falls in disfavour with the 'Western, U.S. imperialism'. It causes hardships: shortage of foreign currency and shortage of the essentials (food) as the result; censorship over the media is established; than mass arrests take place, finally—execution of the opposition ('the enemies of the revolution')... And ultimately, as usual, the 'liberated' masses try to flee their 'independent' motherlands by the million—climbing over the berlin walls, being shot at the back, or drawning by the thousand in the seas... And where do they flee? To the 'decadent oppessive capitalism!'

Why does it happen? Why it happens for such a long time? Are humans suicidal? No, says soviet defector Tomas Schuman, they are being fooled.

Fooling the masses is a trick as old as mankind itself. From pharaos to ayatollas, from andropovs to trudeaus to 'councils on foreign relations' to the UNO—across the continents and through the ages—rulers, politicians and 'leaders' (as we call them today) often indulge in the art of, to put it mildly, *misleading* the people... But always to their own advantage though! For more *power*, more *control* of the society's *wealth*. And often, ultimately, for *conquest* of other nations.

Chinese military strategist Sun-Tzu (500 B.C.) and Italian political strategist Machiavelli have described the process of establishing *control* over 'masses'—in colorful details, for forgetful mankind...

Today, this art has been mastered to stunning perfection! They call

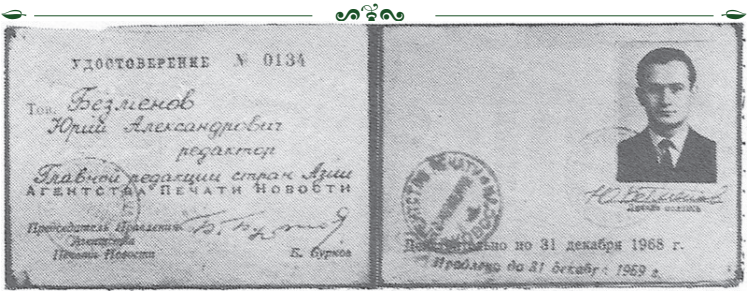


Figure 13: Novosti Identify Card, proof of the absence of any identity– both it and honesty had been handed over to the 'special department' in exchange for this red-covered card which opens more doors to the bearer than the 'American Express' credit card.

it 'Active Measures', meaning *ideological subversion.*

During the last months of my career with Novosti, while contemplating defection, I often tried to assess the volume of evil I personally contributed to that done by my organization and my country. Was I really that guilty? Why should I feel guilty at all? My Soviet colleagues did not feel uncomfortable with their share of guilt. Neither did the foreign collaborators of Novosti. Nor the intellectuals and "progressive" Indians receiving our "blood money" in the form of some fraud like the "Jawaharlal Nehru Peace Prize" Then how come, I thought, I single out myself for doing the evil?

Observing the world-wide destruction of human minds caused by my motherland, unresisted and unpunished, and meditating about how easily all that mind-warping could be stopped, I wanted to believe that there, in the West, some people and organizations we call "reactionary circles" know the situation and how to deal with our sub- version. They had not done it, for some reason unknown to me at that time. But when needed, I thought, they would stop us, for their own good.

Later, in India, I was surprised to realize that no one even thought we were doing anything wrong to their country. Are they blind and

deaf? Or is there something that makes them unaware of impending danger? "I must defect and open up their eyes", I thought. So I defected and started trying to open up their eyes. But no one wanted either my information, or to open up their eyes. People prefer to remain comfortably, blissfully unaware of things unpleasant. When I arrived in Canada I used to bother all sorts of supposedly knowledgeable people: the CIA, the media, politicians, "kremlinologists"and political scientists. And finally 1 realized that despite the abundance of reliable data, most of them simply don't *care*. "We don't give a damn", as my former boss at Canadian Broadcasting Corporation said to me when I presented him my ideas on ideological subversion. They are "sitting pretty". Wars are being fought somewhere far away from their three-bedroom homes. They dazzle the public (and them- selves) with all sorts of illusions such as "peace talks", SALT agreements, detente, etc. Some of the people I talked to were simply enfeebled snobs who wanted to be regarded as energetic and knowledgeable protectors of public interests (whatever that may mean). My impression is that they are mainly concerned with their own interests, their pathetic self importance. "What can we do about half of Cambodia being *murdered*?" Really, *what*?

No, there are no "reactionary circles" hysterical about Communist genocide in Asia, Africa and Latin America. There are circles hysterical about apartheid in South Africa though. Hipocrites! The most "reactionary" and "hysterically" so, are the Western lib-leftist literati, usurping well-salaried positions in the civil services, bureaucratized media monopoly, academia–everywhere the public opinion is being forged and forced. It was these people who discouraged and obstructed publication of this material *in any form* for almost a decade of "detente" It was a well-educated ignoramus in one of the Western centers of "Sovietology" who wrote me that the information in my book is "obsolete and outdated." One thing he should have known: nothing is outdated if we talk about the goals and methods of KGB-Novosti. Nothing has changed since the Chinese genius of subversion Sun-Tzu for the last 2,500 years of human history. Some of the nameplates on the doors of Novosti's bosses may

have become obsolete though, and some of statistics (but again, always on the rise). Some new names have been added to the list of Novosti correspondents expelled from some countries for espionage and subversion . But what 1 have written about Novosti will not become outdated until and unless Novosti itself disappears, together with the whole Soviet regime and the "World Communist Movement". Until that time my book will remain an accurate, though impressionistic and highly opinionated, description of the largest subversion system in the history of mankind.

Of course, I present only a part of the whole picture. I have a suspicion that no one, including Novosti's top brass, knows the complete picture. In the Soviet secrecy-maniacal society it is typical for a right hand not to know what the left one is doing. My purpose here is not to present academic research on the Novosti Press Agency and the KGB (although some of my chapters may look as boring and as informative as that). My intention is to give you both feeling and substance in a somewhat personalized form. This is a narration, a collection of facts, stories, boring statistics and funny rumors, profound statements and superficial observations, moral assessments and dirty jokes—all put together for one purpose: to help you to realize that you, the people, are being had by the Soviets, and seem to enjoy it. The sooner you will realize that, the better chances for your survival in the "Bright Future for All Mankind" (Soviet expression meaning—One World System controlled, naturally, by the "Big Brother").

6. Background & History

Press Agency "Novosti" (which incidentally means "news" in Russian) was founded in 1961 as an "independent, non-government," almost a "grass Root," organization, which in itself is implausible in a country where everything, from sputniks to washrooms, belongs to "the People," that is, controlled by the State. The Prospectus of the Novosti says that A.P.N, "is an information agency of the Soviet public organizations... facilitating in every way the promotion and consolidation of international understanding, confidence and friendship by widely circulating *abroad* (capitals mine–T.S.) true information about the Soviet-Union and acquainting the Soviet public with the life of other peoples..."

From the very moment of its foundation, APN was subordinated, in fact, to two bosses: the Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the Central Committee of the CPSU (Agitprop), and the Department of Disinformation of the KGB, for the purpose of planning, coordinating and conducting active measures against the public and governments in non-Soviet (not controlled by the Soviets or their surrogates) countries, mainly through the media of these countries.

The targets for APN-KGB manipulation also include public and political organizations, religious groups, educational systems, the entertainment industry (cinematography, TV, companies promoting "cultural exchange," etc.), as well as individuals: politicians, members of parliament, bureaucrats of civil service, labor union activists and leaders, businessmen, publishers, intellectuals (university professors, writers, scientists)–in other word, everyone who is or could be an influential person, able to shape public opinion and the policies of his (or her) nation on the level of both their attitudes (and patterns of behavior) and decision making.

Propaganda of Marxism-Leninism as such (or the "advantages" of So-

cialism and a "planned economy") and denunciation of "decadent Western imperialism" are only a part of NovostPs activity. At the time of Novosti's foundation, the new post-Stalin era was demanding new methods and approaches. Frontal attacks on Western ideology had often proven to be ineffective and even counter-productive, especially in the "Third World" developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The modern age of communication dictated the necessity of a more subtle and sophisticated approach to public opinion outside of the USSR. The short-term process of subversion of key personalities in foreign countries had to be combined with a long-term, but more effective and irreversible process of changing the perception of reality in the minds of millions of voters in pluralistic societies.

Under Yuri Andropov, the new generation of the KGB's "public relations" experts started to emerge: highly educated and welltrained graduates from Soviet schools, fluently speaking two or more languages, familiar with the history, literature, religion, ways of life, and socio-political structures of the target countries.

That was the time of the new "general line" of the CPSU CC (Central Committee). A new propaganda cliche was coined—a "third way" of development for former colonies of the West (non-communist, and yet non-capitalist, but definitely an "anti-imperialist," mainly anti-American, way of development). Implementation of such a policy required thousands of professional media workers, well trained in the Western style of reporting and in the processing of information and presentation of opinions and ideas in the most effective emotional way, appealing to the most basic, fundamental and primitive instincts of humans: fear (of nuclear war and /or nuclear confrontation with the USSR); self-preservation (would you rather live in a "cruel, polluted, profit-oriented capitalistic society" or in a "scientifically planned, rational, pollution-free, kind society with just re-distribution of wealth"); and love (of children, motherhood, peace, friends, class and race brothers, etc.)

At that time the ideologues and experts of the CPSU CC had worked out a new line for the KGB operations which later became known as

"active measures." These measures had little to do with the classic, romantic style of espionage and subversion of Stalin's era. Reliable sources confirm my estimate that only about 15% to 20% of the time, money and labor force was planned to be used by the KGB's affiliates such as Novosti for "James Bond" type espionage. The remaining 80effort was directed to the creation of an ideological climate in the target countries which would enable Soviet agents of influence simply to buy (or "borrow") the required intelligence data, using mostly rather legitimate and overt methods.

The ultimate objective of the new policy and of the activity of such an instrument of this policy as the Novosti Press Agency is not to learn more secrets about the adversary, and not even to teach the masses in the West in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist ideology, but to Slowly replace the free-market capitalist society, with its individual freedoms in economic and socio-political spheres of life–with a carbon copy of the "most progressive" system, and eventually merge into one world-wide system ruled by a benevolent bureaucracy which they call Socialism (or Communism, as the final and supreme stage I of this "progress").

To effect this gradual change, it is much easier and less painful (and less noticeable for the populace) to change the perceptions of reality, attitudes, patterns of behavior and to create wide-spread demands and expectations, leading ultimately to the acceptance of totalitarianism. Thus the media is the main target of manipulation by the KGB-controlled "independent, non-government, non-political, public organization" known as the Novosti Press Agency.

7. Structure and Functions

Unlike TASS (The Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union) or the foreign bureaus of the Soviet official newspapers (Pravda, Izvestia etc.), Novosti's main thrust is directed from the USSR to the outside audience. Domestic services of APN are meant to play only an auxiliary role of "fabricating the truth" about the beautiful Soviet Socialism, re-circulating some of the foreign news and features in the local Soviet media and publishing Western "progressive" writers (such as British James Oldridge; Finnish Marti Larnee; Chilean Pablo Neruda; Canadian Farley Mowatt, etc.)– mainly depicting the West in the most negative terms.

Novosti Press Agency's structure is the most evident indicator of its *global* ambitions. It consists of three major departments:

1. Chief Editorial Board for Political Publications (Glavnaya Redaktsia Polit Publikatsii–GRPP), previously located separately from the main office, in Kutuzovsky Prospect in Moscow. This is, in fact, a large research centre for APN-KGB, mainly staffed by KGB officers working as journalists and research analysts, shoveling through large volumes of foreign media

2. Publishing House, turning out thousands of booklets, magazines, books, etc., in foreign languages as well as in Russian

3. Editorial Headquarters (in Pushkin Square) divided into

   (a) Periodical Section and

   (b) Press Section.

Editorial Headquarters are by far the largest part of APN, employing more than 3,000 journalists, editors, translators and public relations

officers. It has an extensive teleprinter and communication system, part of which, through the APN-controlled Departments of Information of every USSR embassy, simply steals information from all major telegraph services of the world by tuning their receivers to their frequencies (which is obvious from the number and configurations of the forests of antennas on the roofs of Soviet embassies all over the world).

Editorial Headquarters controls Novosti bureaus and correspondents' offices in every major city of the world. It is divided geographically into a dozen editorial boards, each dealing with a specific target area: Africa (GRSAF, Glavnaya Redaktsia Stran Afriki); Central Asia (GRSAZ); South-East Asia (GRSUVA); Latin America (GRSLAM); Western Europe (GRSZE); Eastern Europe(GRSVE); USA & Canada (GRSAM).

Each geographical subdivision has its own Press Section and Section of Periodicals. As is clear from the title, the section of Periodicals is responsible for the preparation of materials for hundreds of magazines and newspapers, published and distributed legitimately and overtly by every Soviet embassy, consulate and other representation, in the language(s) of the target country. With rare exception, most of the articles, photographs, photo-blocks, artwork, and even typesetting for these periodicals are prepared in Moscow. Some color photographs are made in "friendly" countries such as Finland, Austria, East Germany, or even in less friendly countries such as Japan or USA or West Germany. The most impressive color printing work is normally contracted to companies in Japan or West Germany.

The Press Section of each geographical subdivision deals with preparation of articles, news items, press releases, interviews, reports, features, backgrounds and "exclusive letters from Moscow," to be planted in various foreign media through the Novosti bureaus or Departments of Information of the Soviet embassies.

8. P.R. Men—The Friendly Mind-Benders

Even the most sophisticated and attractive propaganda has little chance to influence the public unless and until it is actively promoted or "sold" by an army of "Public Relations Officers" of APN-KGB. And Novosti propaganda is NOT attractive. When I was concocting stories and backgrounders for the foreign media, sitting at my desk at the headquarters of Novosti in Moscow, I simply refused to believe that my boring stuff could be of any interest to anyone in the free world, least of all to convince anyone of the "advantages of Socialism" and even motivate anyone in the "struggle for progress and social change." I was wrong. I did not realize at that time, that before my article would reach the page of a foreign newspaper, it had to travel a long way through the sewers of the APN-KGB system, and then, nicely packaged, be presented to an editor or a commentator in a foreign capital after a long process of cultivating that editor.

After initiation into the secrets of the APN kitchen, I was given extensive training in P.R. activity with numerous delegations of foreign guests of Novosti visiting the USSR. A typical "package tour" would include not only regular visits to "average" collective farms and kindergartens, talking to smiling milkmaids and to nicely dressed Eskimos who spoke fluent English and played the grand piano in the woods in Siberia. More importantly, every foreign guest must be made a part of the process of deception. And that takes a person like myself: easy-going, friendly, knowledgeable about the country of my guest, with a small weakness for foreign liquors, slightly cynical about the thugs in the Politbureau, able to crack an anti-Soviet joke at an appropriate moment, but above all, able to arrange meetings with newsmakers, people who are usually unavailable to an average journalist.

By skillfully isolating foreign correspondents and other visitors from any sources of information and any important people in the USSR, Novosti and the KGB artificially create what we called a "deficit" of newsworthy information, whereby a foreign guest would gladly swallow a "bite" offered by a Novosti P.R. man: a visit to a nuclear research center, an interview with a "dissident" writer, an informal boozing session with a group of highly-placed Soviet apparatchiks "close to Politbureau," etc. In the absence of any other legitimate and safe access to a source for a "story," a foreigner would normally accept an invitation from a "friendly mind-bender," even if a suspicion were there that the Novosti P.R. man may in fact be a KGB plant. After all, a correspondent of an influential Western newspaper has to file some story, someday, upon arrival in Moscow.

Novosti P.R. men are given unprecedented freedoms and are able to contact Soviet bureaucrats on the highest levels—just to impress an important foreigner and to lay the groundwork for further "cultivation" by establishing their credibility. When I was assigned to important guests, the entire communication center of APN, including the "Vertushka" (Ultra-high frequency telephone network, used only by the inner Party apparatus all over the USSR), was at my service. After appropriate sanction by my superiors, I could "arrange" anything, from an interview with a Party boss to a pretty sex object working as an interpreter, for an obliging and "flexible" foreigner.

Similarly, outside of the USSR, Novosti P.R. men are often able to "navigate" an influential person to important contacts within the Soviet bureaucracy and facilitate arrangements beneficial to that person, or even to his party, government or corporation.

It all depends on a foreign counterpart's motivation, on his (or her) personal interests, moral standards, and integrity (or lack thereof), whether they will go along with the APN contact and pretend it is just "business as usual," or resist manipulation or even reject the "arrangement." In my own practice and throughout my 12-year career with the Novosti, I have seldom met foreigners who would refuse to cooperate categorically.

Most of my guests or foreign con- tacts would prefer to go ahead, hoping that they were smart enough to see through the trickery and at the right moment stop short of becoming a collaborator with APN-KGB. Most of them did not stop.

9. Novosti cadres

Most of Novosti's editorial and journalistic (in other words, "creative") staff belongs to the "proletarian intelligentsia" class, or obrazovanshchina by A. Solzhenitsyn's definition. None of Novosti's employees are hired from the street, only and always through the protectsia of some influential friends and/or relatives, with processing by the personnel department, i.e. the KGB. The latter provides no guarantee of loyalty. As a matter of fact, the KGB security check guarantees nothing, except perhaps the accumulation of private information filed with the department of personnel. The most carefully checked comrades, like myself, with impeccably "proletarian" Komsomol backgrounds, may turn out to be defectors. On the other hand, the more "trusted" an APN man, the more mediocre he is likely to be.

By my own observation, the largest influx of staff into Novosti happened in the three years after APN's foundation, and most of the newcomers were graduates from special, ideologically-oriented colleges. Most typical was my own Institute of Oriental Languages, founded, as rumor goes, by an order of Krushchev, after one of the "old school" Arabic translators failed to convey his words correctly during negotiations with Gamal Abdel Nasser, in 1956. The incident is described by the former editor of the "Al Akhbar" newspaper in his book "Cairo Documents." The enraged Krushchev cursed Foreign Affairs and ordered a new generation of translators to be trained for all possible languages of the Third Word.

On returning from my first assignment to India in December of 1965, I found half of my schoolmates in Novosti. They held first place among the younger generation of ideological subversives. Later we also established the record for number of defectors to the West.

Apart from us, specially trained for foreign assignments, the bulk

of Novosti's fodder was hired from the armed forces, the administrative cadres of the Party and Komsomol (Young Communists League), the KGB, provincial media workers, and finally, employees of affiliated state bureaucracies, such as research institutes, art schools, socio-political organizations (e.g. Union of Friendship Societies), etc.

The main core of "journalists-internationalists" consisted of about 500 highly educated and well-travelled men and women, each speaking at least two foreign languages. Of these, about 100, working in Novosti's headquarters in Pushkin square, belonged to the "New class" of nomenklatura in 1965. Need less to say, getting in there was the ultimate goal of most Novosti staffers.

Generally speaking, any position in Novosti is desirable for several reasons, one of which is good pay, by Soviet standards. The average junior editor starts with 120-150 rubles a month. In three years he may make 200 rubles, with promotions to "editor" and "senior editor" positions. Knowledge of a foreign language adds 10% to one's salary. For using English, Hindi and Urdu on the job I got the maximum 25% "language additional" pay. (The level of linguistic ability and its application were tested yearly by a special examination commission.) Comrades who had the courage to write "originals" were paid honorariums, which often amounted to another 100 rubles a month. Thus, my own salary, after only three years within Novosti, was close to 300 rubles (compared with an industrial engineer's salary of some 100 rubles).

The average workload per Novosti soul is hard to calculate. In theory, each APN editor must process about 30 double-spaced type- written pages per working day. I seldom saw any of my colleagues achieve this quota. On the other hand, I myself sometimes made more than 30 pages a day. I soon discovered that it is not the number of pages, but the number of rubber stamps you must collect on these pages, that matters. The main work consists of running up and down staircases to obtain signatures.

As to conditions of work, I have discovered, after defecting to the West and working for a newspaper and a radio station in Canada, that

Novosti may only look a bit crowded: 15-20 souls in a room 20 by 40 feet, but they don't sit at their desks all the time; most of the day is spent in the corridors or cafeteria.

Apart from easy work and high monetary gains, Novosti offered a number of other benefits, extremely attractive in Soviet conditions: proximity to ideological power and access to uncensored information (the second most desirable currency in the USSR after the American dollar). There is the possibility of travel abroad (and defection); and one may create for oneself and family a way of life resembling that of the West (so, thee is no need to defect). For sociable people, Novosti offers the chance to meet very interesting people, including sons and daughters of high-ranking Soviet officials. For a commoner a marriage into a nomenklatura family means speedy promotion and a secure career. Finally, for Soviet hedonists, Novosti gives a chance to enjoy such forbidden pleasures as casual sex, sometimes with foreigners (when working for KGB); indulgence in drinking and drugs; and the accumulation of foreign objects, from cigarette lighters to cars.

If for nomenklatura and loafers Novosti offers a relatively com- fortable life with a touch of "creativity," for idealists APN may pro- vide the illusion that one is doing something for "peace and understanding." I knew a number of junior colleagues, who though reali- zing the sinister nature of Novosti, still hoped that after obtaining some power they would "change the system from within. M These people had a tough time preserving their ideals, integrity and sanity. Many made the painful transition from high idealism to deep cynicism. Only a negligible minority of "true comrades" could stubbornly believe in the possibility of "socialism with a human face" These would not advance: the Party does not need such dedicated idiots in its higher ranks. I do not remember an instance of an honest man atop Novosti. What I do remember is the fact commonly known in Moscow, that Novosti perhaps holds first place in the number of mentally ill, alcoholics, sadists, masochists, schizoids, graphomaniacs, etc., and is something of an asylum for all sorts of mental cases never reported to the Serbski Institute–that is, as long as they

Figure 14: Novosti personnel of the USSR embassy in India at their favourite pass-time - boozing.

continue to pretend to be loyal to the Power. And these are the cadres who "decide all" in the business of ideological warfare against the rest of the world.

10. Party line of Novosti

Novosti's link with the Central Committee's Agitprop is a commonly known secret some "progressive" foreign collaborators somehow overlook. But for an average Soviet citizen, illiterate or otherwise, it is as clear as day that everything, including the people of our country, belong to the Party. Every Novosti staffer is aware of the fact that our "non-partisan, non-government and independent" news agency is tied to Agitprop administratively, financially, ideologically, and by telephone.

In the Central Committee's apparatus there is a large group of referents, comrades responsible for the ideological brainwashing of mankind. Unsuspecting people throughout the world are born and die, eat or starve, make love or war, supposedly in strict accordance with the plans of the Central Committee of CPSU, elaborated by the referents. I met several comrades responsible for the Indian subcontinent. One was called Kutzobin, a skinny, sickly fellow of about 60, then head of the Indian section. Another was Yakunin, a tall, blue-eyed Aryan of about 45. Later, one of our Novosti men, characteristically my former schoolmate, Vadim Smirnov, joined the CC's Indian section and was placed in charge of the very same thing he had previously done, in India, at the orders of others.

Some of the referents are known KGB agents and informers. This fact does not bother either the Central Committee or, for that matter, the governments, parliaments, security services and media, of countries where the comrades are accepted and accredited as diplomats and journalists.

Naturally, the responsibility for the Communist remaking of the world is shared by the Central Committee with the "progressive" and "realistically minded" representatives of foreign media, actively cultivated by the APN and KGB.

On October 27, 1967, I brought a large group of editors and publishers

of India's leftist and Communist papers to the Central Committee to meet comrade Yakunin; and later comrade Ulyanovski, a boss in Agitprop. The Indians had just finished a three-week tour of the Soviet Union. I showed them all the "typical" collective farms and kindergartens Novosti could arrange, and the comrades were full of impressions and "provocative questions." They were what we call "unscared idiots" and "truthseekers," who wanted to show they took our propaganda seriously and expected us to do what we preach. They looked as if they believed they were invited to Moscow to exchange opinions.

Why, they asked, does Novosti use such incomprehensible language in propaganda literature? Isn't it possible to explain the advantages of socialism to the Indian masses in plain language? Why is the artistic form in the USSR always a standard Russian-bourgeois, whether the content is socialistic (as in the opera about an Uzbek collective farmer), or capitalistic (as in "Swan Lake")? Why had the Soviets selected from all the many Indian movie-makers a vulgar and trivial profiteer, Raj Kapur, and neglected a progressive realist, Satyajit Roy, who had won the film festival prize?

The general secretary of the Communist Party of Gujarat state, comrade P.B. Yaidhya, asked questions for which a Soviet comrade would get into deep trouble. Why, he asked, do Novosti and other Soviet public organizations in India fraternize with radical students on one extreme, and capitalist politicians on the other? The majority of young Indians, he said, want to know more about the Motherland of Socialism, but they are ignored. It seems too, said another Indian guest, that the CPSU is reluctant to expose Soviet youth to Indian culture: the sitar player Ravi Shankar gathers hundreds of thousands of young listeners in the USA, but in Moscow he was allowed to play only to a handful of Komsomol members in a tiny hall of the Soviet Composers Club. Why?

Comrade Vaidhya was very critical of Soviet scientists, too. In the Institute of Peoples of Asia, he said, there are dozens of Soviet indologists with academic degrees and volumes of published works, but they never visit India, do not speak Indian languages, and do not bother to attend

any international conferences. Instead, year after year Indian colleagues see the same Soviet functionaries, acting as scholars, visiting Delhi, often on very unscientific missions. Why?

Comrade Gopalan, a member of CPI's Central Committee, ventured into areas other than arts and sciences. I noticed that he made the Soviet apparatchiks rather nervous by asking repeatedly in what specific way Soviet workers participate in the administration of Soviet industry. Also he was interested in how the Central Committee resolves conflicts between federalism and self-government in, say, the Ukraine, Asian Republics and Baltic "states."

The answers of the CC comrades were cynical and straightforward. The Indian comrades were told that it is not Agitprop which must learn the "plain language" of the developing masses, but the masses who must learn the future language of all mankind: the language of scientific Communism. Artistic forms, cultural exchange, youth contacts, they were told, are the concerns of the Central Committee only so much as they contribute to the "struggle for peace and progress" (which includes cultivating radicals and terrorists to destabilize your country, making your capitalists pay for it, and your politicians legitimize it). Workers in the USSR, they were told, are to work first, and then to "participate." As to the "conflict" between Moscow and national republics it simply does not exist.

My job, as a Novosti guide, was to popularize these Party directives to our guests, and as a KGB cooperative, to notice and report the reaction of the guests, and the degree of their loyalty (or hypocrisy). With each visit to the top, our developing little brothers shed more of their naïveté and acquired more understanding that being a fellow-traveler is a serious and full-time job, and often hazardous. Like recruits to the Mafia, our guests were made to realize that they could not "retire." Fortunately, I was able to report "mutual understanding" and "gratitude."

Figure 15: Delegation of Indian Communists at the APN headquarters. Marked are: 1. Comrade Yakunln, 2. Comrade Zalchikov, vice-chairman of Novosti. 3. The author.

11. Novostis connection with the KGB

Most foreign media people, not to mention average readers, grossly misconceive the nature of the APN-KGB relationship in particular, and the relationship between Soviet journalists and Soviet intelligence services in general. This general misconception is obvious to me, now that I have been some years in the West, and have revealed details about my own and my Novosti colleagues' activities to several seemingly intelligent Western reporters. All of them, both "leftists" and "rightists," made the same mistake, calling me a "former Russian spy," which sounds very romantic, and, depending on one's political affiliation, either complimentary or derogatory. It is very far from reality.

Spying, in the classical sense of the term, is the ancient occupation of stealing secret information, or buying it for money or favors, and making it available to one's government, superiors, or a client who pays for it. Spying in itself is a profession, just like any other, requiring training and experience. By itself it is void of any moral or ethical connotation. Spying can be noble and patriotic, if it serves the cause of the security and prosperity of one's nation, and docs not harm friends. It can be defensive, if it helps to protect one's country or one's friends from an aggressor. But spying can also be vile, treacherous and offensive, when it helps an aggressor, invader or robber of one's own people, or a friendly and peaceful neighbor.

Depending on the amount of money or support, and on the state of counter-intelligence in an area, spying can be dangerous and risky. It can also be a safe and pleasant indulgence in all imaginable sins.

But, whatever spying is, Novosti people do not do it for the KGB more than 10definition always immoral, aggressive, dishonest and unpatriotic (the latter, because in most cases subversion hurts people in one's own

country as much as the real or imaginary enemy is hurt). The Novosti specialty is ideological subversion, which often has nothing to do with either secret information or stealing.

Thanks to the permissive legal systems in most democratic countries (as well as in some right-wing "fascist and racist" regimes), the activity of [a] Novosti-KGB agent is not considered criminal or even anti-social. Thus, we cannot be called spies: we do not risk anything, least of all our lives, in a country of the "decadent capitalist camp." The greatest danger to ourselves comes not from the counter-intelligence services, the police or the courts, but from our over-indulgence in alcohol, sex, food, and from driving too fast. Few Novosti men have ever been apprehended as spies and expelled from foreign countries (and then mainly from "developing" ones!). It is a rare case when a real KGB spy, pretending to be a Novosti journalist, is caught red-handed.

APN-KGB subversion may be painless, but its long-term result is more devastating than a nuclear explosion. It effects an irreversible (at least within one generation) change in the public's perception of social, political and economic reality, to such an extent that the concept of destroying individual and collective property, safety, freedom and often life itself (considering the inevitable consequences of any "socialist revolution") no longer seems to be such a bad idea. On the contrary, thanks to semantic manipulation, millions of people, regardless of race, intelligence or historical experience, have come to see Communism as an adequate or even desirable alternative to capitalism, in spite of the obvious.

Not too many people in the free world (free from the Soviets) want to understand the danger of APN-KGB ideological subversion. Every Novosti staffer, engaged in KGB work, knows otherwise. We seldom had illusions about the true nature of our activity; we could easily observe the horrible results of it. For this reason some of us would be burdened with guilt, and seek refuge in cynicism or in the accumulation of possessions, or in sex, alcohol, and drugs. The majority, though, overcome pangs of conscience, and enjoy the comforts of KGB affiliation. It goes without saying, of course, that only a few Novosti staffers, mainly relatives of the

nomenklatura, dare to say "no" to the KGB.

On direct orders from KGB superiors, or through the KGB senior staff within Novosti, employees of APN may perform the following functions: the spreading of disinformation among both Soviet and foreign media and diplomatic representatives; opinion probes and intelligence gathering among foreign diplomats and VIPs; the screening of human material, to be recruited by the KGB, among foreign delegations and guests of Novosti; character assessment of the same; surveillance of both domestic and foreign suspects and/or potential recruits; and reference and research on specific subjects related to foreign media, public and political life in certain countries. Apart from that, Novosti staff may participate in any number of projects and operations planned by the KGB in various capacities, acting mainly as public relations representatives.

Contrary to popular Russian belief, not all Novosti people work for the KGB. Some exceptionally stupid "international commentators" are of no use to the KGB. Just like some exceptionally bright journalists who happen to have "dissident" ideas, these latter are kept within Novosti because it is an easily controllable fishbowl.

Naturally, there are no official statistics on the percentage of KGB affiliates within APN. Neither is there any Soviet counterpart of Daniel Ellsberg (alive, that is) within Novosti to reveal the APN's atrocities by publishing "Novosti Papers" in the *New York Times*. Thus, the very question seems to be rather foolish, or too abstract to require an answer. Every time a foreign guest of Novosti asked me something like, "How much money is allotted to the KGB for surveillance of the Soviet people?" I would unhesitatingly tell him to multiply an average salary by 250 million and divide by two.

My own private observations led me to conclude that there are definite categories of people within Novosti who most certainly work for the KGB. These include all *stazhory*—temporary employees, tall, muscular, quiet men, who spend some time within Novosti prior to their assignments abroad. Usually these boys already have a rudimentary knowledge of a foreign language or two, and basic facts about the country of their

future assignment. They only need to pick up Novosti talk and habits, to get acquainted with as many APN staffers as possible, and learn the ABCs of journalism, enough to use all of that as a cover for their real job. The old-timers of APN seldom express surprise at the rapid promotion of these *stazhory* to positions like senior editor or higher. We avoided asking these guys too many questions. We "understood." And tried to be helpful, just in case.

When, after three or four months, the *stazhory* departed for the capitals of exotic countries, we were not envious; they were not going to take our jobs in foreign bureaus. As a matter of fact, we might never see them when we arrived there, except at embassy receptions, where they circulate among Novosti staffers to show their foreign counterparts their APN affiliation.

Another large group of APN-KGB hybrids are those who rest in a comfortable APN job after completing a foreign assignment, having been expelled by a foreign government, or having returned quietly and anonymously if the mission was a success and a new assignment is pending. For example, Colonel Bolshakov, kicked out of Washington for his role in covering up Soviet rockets in Cuba, returned as a hero and was awarded one of the most prestigious administrative jobs on the North American editorial board of Novosti. He knew that everyone knew that he was a KGB colonel, and was as proud of his Washington affair as a demented graffiti artist in a New York subway.

In roughly the same hybrid category were those "exiled" to Novosti for various misdemeanors while on active KGB service in a foreign country. We had a dozen or so speed demons who had run over a developing brother or sister while driving their Volga cars at breakneck speeds. They were wanted by the local police, so Moscow urgently recalled them home for health reasons. Besides, killing a *chernozhopyi* is not considered a serious crime for a Soviet citizen.

Neither are alcoholism, sex with foreigners, or trading personal effects (cameras, watches, etc.) for decadent foreign currency. But in excess, any of these might lead to "exile." In 1969, for example, burnt-out comrade

Tzigankov was recalled from the New Delhi bureau of Novosti, not so much for boozing (everyone drinks, but manages to walk and talk) as for stealing watches and cameras from the diplomatic staff while they were in the Soviet embassy swimming pool, selling those goods on the black market, and investing the profits in alcohol.

In the same category, we had several "sex maniacs" who took Karl Marx's slogan too seriously, thus impeding their work for the KGB. Exiled to APN, they had to subsist for several years on a diet of only local girls, while full of nostalgia and stories of their past escapades.

Such as this one: A Novosti man in Tokyo disappeared without a trace. A month later the KGB found him in a geisha's house. Brought to the ambassador, he was sternly asked to explain his unpatriotic behavior.

"Have you ever screwed a teenage Japanese girl in a suspended and rotating basket?" asked the Novosti man.

"Never," admitted the puzzled ambassador.

"How, then, can I *explain* it to you?!"

The elite of Novosti's KGB men are those highly placed journalists and editors who have traveled extensively abroad and established a reputation as "experts" on a country or a geopolitical area. These APN-KGB comrades sometimes are not "recruited," but rather grow into the KGB at a higher level. Some are not full-time officers of the service. In rare cases when a drunken colleague would reproach one of these "elitists," the latter would be genuinely offended. They do not consider themselves to be KGB informers. Naturally! They are the "new class," *nomenklatura*, something above the KGB in their own estimation.

The younger generation of careerists, like myself, graduating from privileged colleges (Institute of Oriental Languages, Institute of Foreign Relations, etc.), could perhaps be labeled "volunteers." We knew perfectly well that cooperation with the KGB would greatly promote our careers as journalists and open the door to foreign assignments. That's why we were behaving like teenage girls at a school dance: standing by the wall, showing indifference, but inwardly burning with the desire to be noticed and picked up. Often we created situations wherein the KGB had to

notice our diligence and ability, especially when accompanying foreign guests of APN. Our ultimate desire was to become one of the "experts" to be approached by the KGB and the Central Committee for advice. It looked so clean, so patriotic, so romantic, so intellectual! And no dirty jobs, like informing on one's friends. Well, sometimes on foreign friends, but they are *foreigners*, so it doesn't really count.

A small but highly unpleasant group of APN-KGB people are the retired KGB, who think of Novosti as a charitable institution. Into this category fall some security guards, drivers, administration officials, members of the personnel department and the "military desk," some cleaners, doormen, technicians, and, last but not least, our movie projectionist, Uncle Vasya. He was a short, chubby man, with an expressionless face bearing countless pock marks, like the face of the Great Father of All Progressive Journalists, Iosif Vissarionovich Stalin, whose bodyguard, they say, Uncle Vasya was. When I last saw him, Vasya's main occupation was screwing up the sequence of foreign film reels shown to the Novosti staff, and getting drunk in between.

Like most of his colleagues, the other KGB old-timers, Uncle Vasya never said a word about his past career. No wonder. These days Novosti employs quite a number of children of posthumously "rehabilitated enemies of the people," liquidated under Stalin. Reminiscences about the old days might result in severe fractures to Uncle Vasya's skull. It should be remembered that every second family of an intellectual, writer, journalist, etc., lost at least one relative to the GULAG death camps or Lubyanka's shooting ranges. This is one reason the old guards keep wisely silent, opening doors for the children of their victims, the Novosti's "new class." Some of the KGB's victims' children are now KGB themselves.

Naturally, we despised and avoided those who, unlike us, were *stukachi*– lower-grade sleuths and informers, provocateurs and subverters of our own Novosti personnel. Even lower, in our estimation, but somewhat more attractive, was the last category of Novosti KGB: *lastochki*, single girls employed by the APN not so much for what they were doing offi-cially during the daytime– typing, filing, editing copy– as for their ability

to combine the three most ancient professions: espionage, prostitution and journalism. They knew that we, the male chauvinists of Novosti, had a long-established unwritten rule: never get involved with a Novosti girl, or you will give the KGB an easy time collecting information about you. Only those comrades with high Party standing could occasionally violate this rule, for the cause of the Party, no doubt.

How does one distinguish a KGB-APN from a non-KGB? Basically, by the possession of certain objects and rights which most ordinary citizens, including Novosti rank and file, are denied. The most valuable asset, in a society which hungers for information, is freedom to socialize with outsiders and obtain information from them. So this is the first and foremost attribute of a Novosti employee working for the KGB. Relative affluence is the second.

This latter includes a rather long list of possessions granted to an employee in return for his or her services: television sets, tape recorders, cameras, or an export model of a Soviet-made car (Lada, instead of Zhiguli, for instance), or even an imported car (Fiat, VW, Skoda); a better apartment in a certain district of Moscow. Every Novosti old-timer knows that if a person lives in Kutuzovski Prospect, Naberezhnaya Frunze, or in several newly-developed areas around Moscow, chances are he is a KGB agent.

Access to a foreign currency shop (Beryozka) and possession of *sertificaty* may be another indication. This inevitably leads to foreign-made clothes and shoes, tape recorders and transistor radios, and other decadent capitalist toys.

All this in combination with frequent attendance at diplomatic parties, picnics with foreigners, an abundance of imported liquor, the presence of *lastochki*, access to "closed" libraries containing foreign magazines and newspapers, frequent trips across the USSR and outside with foreign (and Soviet) delegations, are unmistakable features of a KGB cooperative, or even a full-time KGB agent.

Even more so numerous phone calls during office hours and quiet disappearances for lunch, tendentious forgiveness of blunders and pro-

fessional mistakes by the bosses, or even of extreme laziness on the job, frivolous anti-Soviet anecdotes and loose talk on issues considered taboo for mere mortals.

Most of these things are easily observed by anyone with minimum intelligence and knowledge of the Soviet system. One principle remains true all through: anyone employed by a media organ of ideological significance (unlike, say, a magazine on fishery), and dealing with foreign media and their representatives, automatically falls under KGB control. There is simply no such thing, in the Motherland of Socialism, as a journalist in the international arena independent of the KGB.

Figure 16: Time magazine describes Soviet 'official' Oleg Benukh's activity in the USA as 'comradeship' without mentioning a word about Benukh's affiliation to the APN-KGB tandem.

American Scene

In West Virginia: Comradeship

Members of Soviet embassy are escorted by Salem College President Ronald Ohl, foreground

"West Virginia wants to meet some Russians! How about it? We look forward to your response."

That exclamatory request, over the signature of an official of Salem, a tiny liberal arts institution in the world of Appalachia, was learned that just as there are areas in the Soviet Union that are off limits to Americans, so are there counties in the U.S. that are off limits to Soviets. These restrictions do not always make sense, as they would, say, if a military installation were involved. But they make sense enough to the Kremlin and to the State Department. Thus the way back was taken out of the bewildered driver's hands, and they went the long way round. The passengers did not complain, although Irina Shikao got

snacks, followed by a dinner ... called for a president's ... with punch and

Oleg Benukh, chief of the information department at the Soviet embassy and the leader of his delegation, opened by saying there are "too many things that divide us," so he would prefer to spend the evening talking about my country. He added, "I'm of the opinion that the Americans know about my country many times less what we in my country know about the U.S." He said Americans were more interested in themselves than in their neighbors, let alone foreigners. The first question, when question time came, was whether there was nature fres-

TIME, APRIL 23, 1984

Figure 17: Moscow, APN headquarters. Left to right: Oleg Benukh, an Indian diplomat and the author during a 'press-conference'.

12. The vicious circle of untruth

An abundant source of raw material for Novosti propaganda can be found in foreign media, both "progressive" and "reactionary." Any leftist or openly Communist (wherever they are legalized) newspaper as a rule toes the Soviet propaganda line and reprints an average of 40of the materials which are supplied either by Novosti itself (directly or through the foreign bureau of APN), or written locally. Some are borrowed from press releases of TASS, and from Soviet "official" publications abroad (such as *Soviet Life, Soviet Land, Soviet Woman*), and finally from publications of various front organizations created and maintained by the Central Committee through KGB or Novosti (World Council of Churches, World Peace Council, all sorts of "anti" groups– antiwar, antipollution, antinuclear, some trade unions and radical student groups, etc.).

A great part of the local coverage of such events as strikes, anti-establishment demonstrations, or violent clashes between the police and "protesters," almost automatically finds its place on the pages of leftist media, and is consequently picked up by Novosti for reprocessing as "an expression of predominant public opinion."

All these reports, depicting the West (or free Eastern countries, such as South Korea, Philippines or Thailand) in the darkest possible colors, are lovingly collected by Novosti personnel abroad and sent to Moscow. Here the material is updated, distorted, supplied with editorial comments and such references as: "quoted from an influential Western (Eastern) newspaper" (*The Daily Worker, Aka Hata*, etc.), and re-issued to foreign countries, sometimes the countries of its origin, this time as Novosti releases.

A considerable amount of this propaganda is used by the Soviet domestic media for the purpose of convincing the people of the USSR

that the outside world, in strict accordance with the prophecies of the classics from Marx to Suslov, rapidly stagnates and is ripe for "liberation" by the world Communist movement, or as the media calls it, "national liberation forces." Sometimes, for authenticity, *Pravda* or *Izvestia* would even reprint a facsimile of the front page of a foreign Communist periodical. The most common cause of such "borrowing" is the reprinting of photographs from foreign publications and supplying them to the Soviet (or socialist countries') domestic media with APN-made captions, with distorted or totally opposite meanings.

The impact of such propaganda on the Soviet public opinion is substantial. If not the content itself, then the mere fact of its existence, unpunished and unopposed by the Free World, impresses an uninformed Soviet reader in favor of the "historically inevitable advance of Communism the world over." In combination with "straight" news about various "majority rule" and "anti-colonial" wars successfully waged by the Soviet-trained and indoctrinated terrorists forces in Asia, Africa and Latin America, this further convinces the Soviet public, even those who have access to short-wave foreign broadcasts, that Communism IS victorious, invincible and desired by millions of their "developing" brothers. The final and tragic result of it for the Soviet people is that if and when a Soviet soldier were given an order to "liberate" Afghanistan, Angola or El Salvador, he would do it with unprecedented cruelty, in direct proportion to his ignorance and the volume of propaganda pumped into him, thanks to the vicious circle of untruth.

The "reactionary" media, not under the direct control of Communists or the KGB, also renders a great service to Novosti by focusing its attention mainly on bad news as though it were the only news fit to print. Such sensational stories as Watergate, CIA wrongdoings, the Pentagon Papers, etc., forcibly fed to the public, are a great inspiration for the APN, but contribute hardly anything to the restoration of justice in America. Most of the materials of that type were reprocessed by a special Department of Political Publications (GRPP), headed in the 1960's by Norman Borodin, a KGB disinformation expert.

12.1. Homemade Propaganda

The most useful internal source of propaganda material is Novosti's daily press release, some thirty pages thick, containing from six to ten articles from the Soviet or "brotherly Socialist" media (both printed and electronic), and sometimes from leftist foreign media, all pre-packaged and already translated (badly) into four European languages: English, German, Spanish and French. If, on orders from my boss comrade Makhotin, I found several appropriate articles in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* or *Krasnaya Zvezda*, before I bothered to sit down and edit them for Indian readers I would check the title list in the morning APN bulletin. If my titles were in it, I would simply wait for an English copy of the bulletin, which came to our room after lunch, tear the needed article from my copy of the bulletin, attach the *anketa*, maybe cut out two or three paragraphs, and voila! put it on Makhotin's desk.

The APN bulletin was an excellent filler, but not sufficiently high quality to meet some requests by Indian newspapers. In this case I had two alternatives: either process the English copy myself, rewriting parts of it in an appropriate style for Indian readers, write a new original under my own name combining something from TASS, something from the clipping room files, and something from my own imagination. The latter needed a special OK from Makhotin or a senior editor of the section. Sometimes the subject assigned to me was unfamiliar to me, and I had another alternative: find an author within Novosti who happened to be an expert in the given field. This took some telephoning, some running along corridors, some chasing into the cafeteria or a restaurant, and finally, a certain power of persuasion.

Not unlike the GULAG prison "research institutes," called *sharashki*, where our people's state lovingly collects experts in all imaginable professions, from snake charmers to rocket designers, Novosti employs several hundred jacks of all trades good for only one thing: fabricating the "truth." Without leaving the premises of APN, one may find an author capable of

writing an article on almost any subject. They may be officially employed (*oformleny*) as junior or senior editors, commentators, translators, layout artists or even typists, but come the chance and inspiration (in the form of a fat honorarium), they spring into creative activity.

We had our own astronomers and mathematicians in a special science department headed by a Madame Lunacharsky, the daughter of the late famous Soviet commissar of culture, who, so the story goes, saved dozens of pre-revolutionary intellectuals from Lenin's labor camps or Dzerzhinsky's execution basements. Madame Lunacharsky did not have to do the same, thanks to Brezhnev: today all our worthy intellectuals are simply treated as mental cases and sent to Serbsky Institute, affiliated with the KGB.

We had our own agronomists, on a par with Lysenko, or possibly better, for during all their career within Novosti they never need bother to visit a collective farm, find a "*sabotazhnik*" refusing to grow corn Khrushchev style, and send him to the KGB prison, the way Lysenko did to hundreds of his opponents in agriculture.

12.2. Novosti Space Bluff

"Conquering space" was Novosti's favorite subject for propaganda, from the time of its establishment. Space research was also the most salable subject in the West. Novosti, while losing money on topics like collectivization or "national liberation," made a fortune selling rhapsodic, sweet stories about Soviet space "pilots," from Yuri Gagarin on, to stupid Western (and Eastern) newspapers and magazines.

The initial Soviet space "ships" were nothing but tin cans launched into orbit, with a helpless Cosmonaut huddled inside, just to impress the West and to prove non-existent Soviet supremacy in the space race.

To keep the hard currency rolling in, Novosti opened a special "space center," headed by a curly-haired young man, the son-in-law of a famous (but under an assumed name, for reasons of secrecy) Soviet space rocket

designer. This curly cretin, who looked like a football player, walked Novosti's corridors in foreign-tailored suits, imitating an American movie star. From time to time he would call dispatch for a black Volga car with a radio-telephone to rush him at breakneck speed from Novosti's glass entrance to the "Star City." He was one of the few APN staffers privileged with a permanent pass to the "Star City," a small suburban township where Soviet cosmonauts and their families live in conditions similar to those of American university students. There was no need for paranoid security arrangements such as tall fences with barbed wire at the top, guard dogs and sentries with machine guns. The Soviet space guinea-pigs (called "pilots" in the Western press) didn't know any secrets worth stealing (apart from the commonly known "secret" that the Soviet space research programs were designed mainly for military and aggressive purposes). The most insane PLO terrorist would not dare or bother to kidnap the cosmonauts, knowing pretty well that the Kremlin would not give a kopeck of ransom for the lives of the "pilots." The main purpose of the security was to conceal the relative affluence of the Star City inhabitants from the hungry stares of common Soviet people. They say there is a self-service *gastronom* (grocery store) where one takes as much food into a cart (a cart, not a bag!) as one wishes...

On returning from the Star City sometimes in the company of a suspiciously happy foreigner or two, all of them breathing vodka, our curly cretin would be frantically active for a couple of days. Cosmonauts would meet foreign guests, sign autographs, give interviews and smile for cameramen. The result of all this farce was usually several articles in respectable Western magazines, such as *Pari-March*, with lots of photographs which made our space monkeys look like a hybrid of Tarzan and Einstein and Levitan and Rostropovich: they played cellos, wrote endless formulae on blackboards, painted imaginary scenery from distant planets, did unimaginable tricks on the parallel bars, and above all, were dedicated Party members and excellent family men. Large circulation foreign papers picked this up obediently, especially if we claimed that the stuff was "exclusive," or better yet, "secret," and de-classified only as

a personal favor of APN to George Pompidu.

The space features supposedly written by the cosmonauts, and supplemented with impressive drawings and diagrams were okayed not by our Novosti censors, but somewhere high above, possibly by comrade Korolyov himself (the chief Soviet space rocket designer, who died in the early 1970's). The stuff was written, though, not by any cosmonauts, but by the same curly schizoid who headed Novosti's "space center"; and far from being "exclusively" written for any client, it was a typical APN mass production designed to convince the duped Western (even more so Eastern) public of the supremacy of the "new man of the Communist tomorrow."

Unlike the "useful idiots" of the Western media, we the Novosti men of that time knew well that the Soviet supermen simply did not have time for playing cellos and attending to their families; most of their time was divided roughly between alcoholic orgies in Moscow's *Sandoony* steambaths, and being exploited as instruments for propaganda during various "international scientific and peace forums."

After Yuri Gagarin died in a jet plane crash, we were the first "ordinary people" to hear the rumors that our lovable superman was gloriously drunk, and some of us, who knew Gagarin personally, suspected that Yuri preferred death—in space or on Mother Earth—to the miserable existence of a propaganda doll. But even this tragic event Novosti turned to the advantage of propaganda, hinting in several "unofficially leaked" reports something to the effect that, "One dare not call himself Russian if he is not fond of a fast troika ride" (an expression popularized by Gogol, a classic 19th century Russian writer).

Space mania lasted roughly from 1963 to 1969, the time of the spectacular American landing on the moon, skillfully played down by some Western media traitors. All these years we knew that our "achievements" were a bluff and could not help but feel sorry about the enthusiasm of the Western media. Few of us were brave enough to give a tip to foreign press, but would they listen to us? Several years later Soviet defector L. Vladimirov-Finkelstein, former editor of a science magazine,

tried stubbornly to break through the wall of naivete and ignorance of Western publishers and to reveal the truth about the space race in his brilliant and brutally honest book "Russian Space Bluff." It took the US landing on the moon to make the West change its mind about the faked Soviet space "supremacy" and get rid of its inferiority complex. It only proves, to my mind, how deadly efficient [ ] Novosti's propaganda [can be].

12.3. Human Interest Propaganda

Apart from the subject of space, Novosti would periodically have fits of propaganda on various topics of "human interest." There was never a lack of authors within Novosti capable of concocting anything in this area. Thus, in the mid-sixties, simultaneously with the KGB-inspired student riots in Western universities, Novosti unfolded a "Youth Campaign," trying to prove to the decadent West that we do not have any "gaps" between our generations. We are monolithic, united and profoundly patriotic! More, we are internationalists, always ready to extend our helping hand to all the oppressed youth in capitalist countries (which we did very successfully!). At the time your Jane Fondas and Pete Seegers promoted "peace" in Vietnam, singing: "[Billy], don't be a hero, don't go to war," our Novosti boys were busy concocting fiery propaganda songs on the "liberation struggle." Partly thanks to APN and Fondas, America [was] stalemated by barefoot bandits in Asia and plunged into endless radical youth terrorism at home. The Novosti authors of the "youth" propaganda had sleepless nights and endless alcoholic cycles, burdened with guilt for what we did to the feeble minds of Western youth. Fondas and Seegers do not have even a hint of repentance.

Yielding to the renaissance of Russian Christianity after half a century of atheistic Communism (a phenomenon comparable to the revival of Zionism and Hebrew in Israel), Novosti in the late 60's and early 70's started vigorously promoting the "Old Mother Russia" motif in its pro-

paganda. We wanted to prove to the world that we love our churches and keep them in perfect order as museums, and to let the tourists see our freedom of faith.

Most of Novosti's foreign periodicals carried cover photos of countless troikas, blinis, samovars, icons, etc.–the stuff naive Westerners love so much. It was fun for the foreign media, and a chance for APN to earn extra money, but also a time to shine for some genuine lovers of Russia's neglected and trampled culture. I knew a fellow who was a self-made expert on old Russian architecture and folklore. On his day off, instead of wasting his time watching football or hockey on TV, he would spend the day walking through Moscow countryside villages in search of ruins of old churches and monasteries. He had a large collection of photographs of Russia's past monuments. For several years, though officially a junior editor of *Soviet Land* magazine (part of India's section), he was an authority for Novosti's "Mother Russia" campaign.

Less spectacular authors wrote on metallurgy, postage stamps, telekinesis, heart transplants, ballet, sports, etc.

The sports section of Novosti catered very successfully to the sensationalist tastes of such media clients as Canada's CBC (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation). Obsessed with hockey, the Canadians paid Novosti astronomical sums for grossly unfair matches between such rivals as professional (in the commercial sense) Canadian teams and the "amateur" gladiators of the Soviet Army. Naturally, Novosti never forgot the main purpose of the deal: to convince the Canadian (and other Western) hockey addicts that Socialist hockey is invincible!

Some Novosti sports commentators were of as high a journalistic caliber as their Western counterparts or higher. I personally knew Sasha Mariamov, a tall, skinny fellow of about 35 whose sports reviews read like detective stories. These pieces of propaganda I would dispatch to the Indian media feeling no guilt; they were more or less harmless and did not call for any "class struggle."

12.4. Indo-Soviet Friendship: My Cup of Tea

The privilege of writing "originals" on subjects related to Indo-Soviet relations was, of course, given to the staff of the Asian Department (GRSAS), including myself. The OK was given to me by comrade Makhotin in those cases where neither the clipping files nor any other part of Novosti's plumbing contained the needed material, or when there was a chance to cover some Indo-Soviet happening in Moscow.

The latter included such occasions as, for example, the opening or an exhibition, ironically, of Indian dolls and puppets in a branch of Moscow's Museum of Oriental Cultures. The process of covering such an event is similar to that in any other country's media, with certain peculiarities. They were always attended by exactly the same set of people, a kind of professional team of "official guests." Whether it was a puppet exhibition, or an "evening of Indo-Soviet economic cooperation anniversary" in the Friendship House, or whatever, I always met the same "representative of the Soviet public": illiterate professor of Indian languages Dr. Balabushevich, for instance. Or youngish divorcee Irina Ershova, an official of the "USSR-India Friendship Society." Comrade Ershova was a pretty lady who had the unusual ability to sit long hours in various presidiums without showing the slightest sign of boredom or tendency to fall asleep. She was a lovely and almost compulsory decoration to any Indo-Soviet propaganda gathering.

Another must was a young but extremely promising diplomat, Igor Boni, several years a consular official in Bombay, who had acquired the reputation of a "pukka sahib" (real gentleman) among the Indian staff for his fluent Hindustani and flawless manners.

His opposite was a professor of Hindustani from the Moscow Institute of Foreign Relations, comrade Oleg Ultsiferov, an uncultivated young man speaking fluent but badly broken Urdu, especially while consuming considerable volumes of liquor at diplomatic receptions. This character would appear to be very trustworthy; many would confide in him; and all the secrets and the gossip were guaranteed to reach the KGB in record

time.

A valuable contribution to any gathering was KGB Colonel Erzin, dean of something-or-other at the notorious spy school called the Patrice Lumumba Friendship University. Comrade Colonel also spoke some foreign languages.

After these there would follow an assortment of small fry: several students from Lumumba, a couple of *lastochki* from UPDKA (the department of the KGB rendering domestic and secretarial services to foreign diplomats in Moscow), and finally, a troika of Indian diplomats: sometimes his excellency Kewal Singh, the ambassador, and a combination of first and second secretaries (Mr. Lamba, Mr. Dhume, Mr. Dhundyal, Mr. Mahajan or Mr. Sidharth Singh).

"Friendship meetings" always proceeded in the same order. First Dr. Balabushevich would read from a typewritten page something no one in the audience could understand or bothered to listen to. Several Indian students would secretly hold hands with lastochki, or with girls who worked in garment factories named after Rosa Luxembourg or Clara Tzetkin, invited to *Dom Druzhby* as a filler, to become a "collective member" of the USSR-India Friendship Society, in a ceremony at the end of the evening.

The ambassador of India would then take the floor and say something nice about the Russian winter, carefully avoiding mention of the Bhilai Steel Plant or any other industrial monster, for which India is supposed to be eternally thankful to the USSR. (That would not prevent me from inserting it into my report for Novosti, anyway). By the end of the ambassador's speech some Indian boys would have exchanged telephone numbers with Russian girls and move one step further, from holding hands to touching knees. When the lights would go off and a new documentary on old Bhilai started, some hands would go around waists. After the movie the lucky ones would go to dance in the adjacent hall, others down to the bullet to have a beer and discuss politics (ever so carefully!).

Long before the party was over, I would leave for Novosti, sometimes

in an office car with an APN photographer, my article almost ready. Most of it had been written in advance anyway, with blank spaces for names and percentages of growth.

During a "youth" propaganda campaign I concocted several articles for *Soviet Land*. One of them I remember with especially bitter feelings. My boss at the time, comrade Surov, a gray and humorless invalid (his leg was wounded), wanted me to find an Indian student at Moscow State University (MGU) and ask his (or her) impressions of Moscow. I found not only a student of physics, Ashok Kumar, studying superconductivity under ultra-low temperatures in a cryogen laboratory, but also Savitri, a pretty girl from Nepal, studying medicine, who wanted to be a pediatrician in the Himalayan mountains. Both were very happy, talkative and sociable. They related to me stories about their trips across the USSR during vacations, their life in the MGU *obshchezhitiye* (dorms) where they had to share rooms with two or three other Soviet students (for more complete indoctrination, not for lack of space, but they did not know it), about the eating habits of Russians as opposed to Indians, etc. A human interest story was on the way!

But the old hack Surov rejected both interviews. According to him, they both lacked the expression of gratitude which supposedly overflows in the hearts of Indian students for their "free education" in the USSR, towards the Soviet people, our government and our glorious Party. He wanted me to include "their" thoughts, that such a paradise as MGU is possible only thanks to the scientific theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. He insisted that I put in the Indians' mouths admiration of the "fact" that in "brotherly multi-racial" Moscow there is no discrimination, unlike the USA, where our guests would hardly find a friend for being "colored."

I wasted my time explaining to comrade Surov that both my Indian students were aware of frequent racial scandals within MGU between Russian and African boys fighting over Russian girls, and the drunken orgies some of the "liberated" black brothers organized in the dorms, and the brutal treatment of some "black-asses" by the *druzhinniki* (voluntary

Komsomol police). I could have explained also the surprise expressed by the Indians that any political activity except that prescribed by Komsomol is strictly banned in MGU. But the boss wanted only the "truth."

Another frequent assignment was coverage of "press conferences" with visiting Indian VIPs. I remember when, in July of 1966, Mr. Kumaraswami Kamaraj, an outstanding member of the Indian National Congress Party and an opponent of Indira Gandhi's faction, came to Moscow. The Kremlin wanted to cultivate him, as he might win the intra-party struggle for leadership and become the prime minister. On July 30, Novosti and Foreign Affairs staged a marvelous farce in the grand hall of the Metropol Hotel.

The Indian guest pretended not to notice that "media representatives" asked him only questions which already contained answers, and most of the answers were in favor of Soviet foreign policy. Every Novosti person, including myself, prior to arriving at the Metropol, had been given his "questions" typed on a piece of paper, to memorize, or to read aloud if memory failed. My question was about the positive effect of the spirit of the Indo-Pakistani peace conference of Tashkent on the establishment of stability and mutual security on the Indian subcontinent. Getting Mr. Kamaraj's affirmative answer, I simply incorporated a few of his words into an already typewritten "report" on the press conference.

The next morning, *Pravda* and other Soviet central papers carried the rhapsody to Soviet peace-making efforts. And as far as I knew, at that very moment Soviet submarines were making a home in the Indian ports of Bombay and Visakhapatnam, Soviet air force advisors were training Indians to fly MIGs, and the Soviet Defense Ministry was pushing more and more Soviet-made military hardware on both India and Pakistan, trying to make both dependent on our supplies.

The covering of trade agreement signing ceremonies was more pleasant. One might actually see and even touch some articles of *shirpotreb* (consumer demand) which average Soviet people would never see, for most of them are sold in closed shops for *nomenklatura* only. I loved most of the exhibitions and informal parts of the ceremonies which fol-

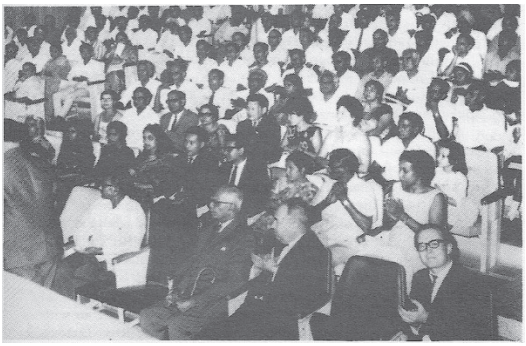


Figure 18: Tomas Schuman (right lower corner) at a meeting of the Indo-Soviet 'Cultural' organization In New Delhi.

Figure 19: Tomas Schuman (right) socializing with foreign students at the Patrice Lumumba 'Friendship university' in Moscow.

lowed the actual signing and the abstract speeches (the only interesting part of which would be the response of the Soviet trade representatives. The comrades would put so much emphasis on "mutually beneficial trade," their eyes shining with delight and expectation, that I almost visualized the concrete meaning of these words to the fat *apparatchiks* (bureaucrats): we give you turbines made by our slaves, in exchange for those lovely leather shoes for us and leopard fur coats for our wives, and copper plates and jewelry to decorate our apartments...).

Cocktails would follow. In the beginning of the Soviet-Indian trade era, Indian hosts would hire waiters to carry silver trays loaded with delicate cocktail glasses and exquisite Indian hors d'oeuvres: *shish-kebabs*, *pakora*, *pani-puri*, etc. Later, after learning the Soviet way of life, the Indians abandoned this etiquette. The booze would be dumped unceremoniously on one of the tables, next to a pile of plastic cups–self-service *po potrebnosti* (according to needs–a Socialist principle implemented only for the *nomenklatura*).

And finally, as an unplanned source of propaganda material, sometimes we were allowed to find our own topics for the "originals" and "exclusives." That I always did at my own risk, for there is no guarantee that a story which takes me four days to prepare may not be thrown into the waste basket, and instead of an honorarium I may get a reprimand from the Party boss. One such story was my innocent opus about pen pals corresponding between India and the USSR.

They were schoolchildren. I found them in the *Dom Pionerov* (Young Pioneers Club) on Vorobyov Hills. They were smart little devils, at the tender age of 6 already learning how to outsmart the all-forbidding Soviet State.

Correspondence with foreigners is unofficially prohibited in our country; it is overtly discouraged, and secretly tampered with at the special section of the main post office (*Glavpochtampt*). The clever kids invented a "collectivized" version of pen pal correspondence, writing their letters in the presence of the senior Komsomol counselor (*pionervozhatyi*). Thus there was an appearance of legitimacy and ideological control. The ratio

Figure 20: Nlkita Kruchshev and Leonid Brezhnev befriending an emigree artist S.Roerich and his Indian wife in Moscow. Photo by Novosti Press Agency.

Figure 21: Tomas Schuman (background) with a group of 'progressive' guests visiting a 'typical' Soviet kindergarten in Ukraine.

of correspondence was about one-to-ten in favor of the Soviets: for each "collective" letter sent, the Moscow kids would receive at least a dozen replies from the Indian kids, who had not yet learned the advantages of the socialist system and wrote individually, and without any control. Thus every week the Soviet kids had a pretty large collection of Indian and Pakistani postage stamps, which they successfully converted into rubles at the black market spot in Kuznetski Most Street.

Naturally, I did not mention the profit motive, untypical for Soviet children. I wrote about peace and friendship, mentioning the stamp "exchange" only briefly. But that was enough to awaken the suspicion of my boss, comrade Surov, who, as it turned out later, was himself a postage stamp collector and was aware of the potential profit in the hobby. The opus was scrapped, and I only hoped the young pioneers were not investigated for profiteering.

A convenient source of endless "originals" was Soviet travelogues with visiting foreign guests of Novosti. I was attached to a large number of delegations from India and Pakistan during my career in Moscow. Thus I earned considerable extra money in the form of honorariums and also as leftovers from my travel allowances. During those years I took our unsuspecting guests at least a hundred times along the same officially prescribed tour of Potyomkin's collective farms, and wined and dined them in the same Intourist hotels. I would bet that if, in some distant future, all the "progressive" Indians would get together, they might discover a lot in common about their trip to the USSR.

By the end of my Moscow era, I knew almost every waitress by name: every nurse in every "typical" kindergarten, intimately; every Soviet ballet, ad nauseum; and I could walk Hermitage, Tretyakovskaya Gallery and Sofia Cathedral in Kiev with my eyes closed and my mind switched off. Even after defection to the West, I feel nauseous when I watch on TV a Soviet ballet on a tour in the West. Also I have a strong allergy to classical paintings and daycare centers.

13. Collaborators: who are they?

It is obvious to me that even the most charming and talented P.R. agent of APN-KGB would fail to plant disinformation in the foreign media unless he were assisted by the foreign collaborators. Ideological subversion, it was explained to me by my KGB supervisors, is always a two-way street. The effectiveness of Soviet propaganda depends at least 50% on the generous aid of Novosti's foreign collaborators.

The phenomenon of collaboration with the Soviet ideological "active measures" affects a wide variety of personalities, regardless of their nationality, ethnic and cultural background, education, level of intelligence, political ideas and affiliations, or social and class origins. I have come to the realization that virtually no foreigner is entirely immune to this infectious disease.

It would be naive to expect that only the uneducated "proletarians" fall victim to Soviet propaganda and become "revolutionaries." As a matter of fact, my KGB supervisors explicitly instructed me "not to waste my time" and APN's money on the "true believers in Communism." My KGB contact in New Delhi, comrade Gadin, suggested to me, after seeing my overly friendly socialization with students and young Indian radicals: "Aim higher—at the upper middle-class intellectuals and otherwise *Influential* personalities." True believers, he said, make the worst enemies if and when they become disillusioned with Communism, or finally see through the deception. What KGB-APN needs is a person who would be ready to compromise moral principles (if he had any) for his personal short-term advantage. According to my observation and practice, such persons suffer from one or more of the following flaws in their characters: egoism, ethnocentrism (or bigotry), greed, mental laziness, cynicism, lack of confidence (or, conversely, overconfidence), fear (especially fear of

failure or fear of appearing as "misfits" and underachievers in their own careers and ventures), and the inability to be compassionate toward the sufferings of others. Often among the KGB-APN collaborators I could see persons with various physiological deviations: homosexuals, impotents, or—conversely—persons obsessed with sex and other pleasures, persons unable to establish lasting and meaningful relationships with the opposite sex, persons unable to show or receive love, etc. On top of it all, the most "recruitable" people are "materialists, pragmatists," obsessed with the immediate and complete "success" of *Their* ventures. Another great category of collaborators are those who are unable to laugh at themselves, who take themselves too seriously. Healthy skepticism and a good sense of humor provide one of the best remedies against Novosti infection.

I have met scores of conceited snobbish "intellectuals," who suffered from self-importance and firmly believed that the public in their own country was too backward to understand their genius. Novosti provides a very receptive audience for such megalo-maniacs, especially when they write books about their "experiences" in the USSR in surrealistic (or rather Social-realistic) terms.

To sum it up, as one Russian Orthodox priest told me, "Communism is not a political, economical, military or geographical problem. It is a *moral* problem." Novosti Press Agency and her KGB bosses will be successful in the manipulation of public opinion in the free world as long as there are *amoral* persons ready to cooperate with APN-KGB for their own immoral gains and purposes.

The smallest category of collaborations are those who idealistically *believe* that Communism (and its first "civilized" stage of Socialism) is indeed a "better system" and better solution for all the problems of mankind. After 67 years of historical evidence, after hundreds of *millions* perished under this system, in view of its gross inefficiency in any area of human activity (except the military, an aggressive one)—such idealism borders on insanity. Therefore I would not take this category of collaborators seriously. Ignorance, to my mind, plays a major role in this type of "idealism."

But the greatest attraction, according to my observations, is a real (or imagined) *reward* for services rendered by collaborators to the Soviet promoters of "active measures."

13.1. Foreign Press Collaborators

It took the Novosti elite three years, after we were established in 1961, to discover that our propaganda was too boring, dogmatic and unbelievable to print in anything but foreign leftist tabloids. To infiltrate the big press of the West, Novosti had to raise its materials to the international level. In 1964, following the example of the talented chief editor of *Izvestia*, APN introduced high-quality decadent capitalist methods.

Thus, to satisfy some *solidnyi* (big press) clientele, Novosti started to invite cooperation from professional foreign journalists stationed in Moscow. Some of them cooperated willingly, trying to convince themselves that they might obtain access, through the Novosti, to "reliable sources close to the Politbureau," and we carefully maintained that illusion. Others reluctantly realized that they were being taken for a ride, but decided "better the APN, than nothing." Some did it for the extra income from Novosti, and still others because they truly believed in Communism. Until this very day, none of the foreign collaborators have [had] enough courage to reveal the true nature of their deals with the APN.

The most common recruiting method is to approach a foreign journalist with a "backgrounder," a crudely written collection of propaganda clichés, fictional statistics, and sometimes real names and dates. For a substantial payment, a foreigner can either rewrite this in his own style and pass it on as his own report, or edit it heavily and recommend it to the editor of his paper for what it is, an "exclusive" article by a Novosti commentator.

In our Asian section we utilized the services of Darshan Singh, a skinny, cross-eyed, intelligent Punjabi, who prior to coming to Moscow

had been collaborating for years with the Delhi bureau of Novosti. He was invited to Moscow through Novosti and the Central Committee's Agitprop and, with many other fellow-travelers, was helped to a job as translator with the Foreign Languages Publishing House. There he did routine work, translating the masterpieces of Lenin and Brezhnev, novels by Sholokhov and Gorki, etc., into Punjabi. That was his cover job, which provided his regular income. The real creativity of Darshan Singh was used for a different kind of writing, for APN. Together with our boss, comrade Makhotin, Darshan concocted weekly a gossip column entitled "Letter from Moscow," based on regular Agitprop material, sometimes simply borrowed from *Pravda* editorials. Using his old connections with several respectable large-circulation newspapers in India, such as *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta) or a number of Punjabi papers, Darshan Singh established a lively traffic in propaganda, using Novosti teleprinter facilities, photographic services, and even our typists and stenographers. He was paid by the Indian paper as a regular correspondent in Indian rupees, and by Novosti in Soviet rubles.

After about a year of cultivating the foreign news desks of a couple of Indian newspapers, Novosti made them dependent on us as their source of "exclusive information." Most Indian papers cannot afford to keep their own correspondent in Moscow, but for prestige would not mind having a regular "Moscow letter," with the latest gossip from "diplomatic circles" planted by APN-KGB often arriving before that same news was reported on other international wire services. They would also appreciate human interest stories including such unorthodox features as photos of a Moscow farm market, pictures from a "typical Soviet wedding party," and even interviews with some fake Soviet "dissidents," provided by Novosti for such occasions as slandering Alexander Solzhenitsyn.

I doubt that Darshan Singh really believed in what he was writing. He was too smart for that. Neither was he a dedicated Communist. He was too cynical to love the system, the victory of which would render people like him unnecessary, or worse. My guess is that he was simply greedy and amoral and very conceited at that. It took him one hour to create a

masterpiece of propaganda, while others would spend days and weeks concocting vapid articles. Darshan looked upon us, the Novosti rank and file, as primitives, unworthy of his attention. Even our New Delhi bureau deputy-chief Oleg Benyukh did not deserve Darshan's respect, especially after Benyukh decided to become a writer and gave birth to a monstrous creation of his entitled something like "Adventures of a Ukranian in India," a rhapsody to non-existent "proletarian international solidarity." The book was, however, published in India, thanks mainly to Darshan's rewriting the whole boring thing into passable Punjabi.

Each of Darshan's "Moscow Letters" cost Novosti about as much as the monthly salary of a junior editor like myself. How much Darshan was paid by the Indian newspapers, I can only guess.

Unlike Darshan, who spent a lot of time on the Novosti premises, and was not ashamed to receive payment, there were some "clean" collaborators, who wanted by all means to look honest and independent while dealing with the APN. They would attend some of our propaganda functions, orchestrated by Agitprop through Novosti, but they would avoid taking our "backgrounders."

One such "innocent" collaborator was Dev Murarka. I met him on various occasions in the *Dom Druzhby* (Friendship House) in Kalininski Street, in the club of the Soviet Writers Union in Vorovski Street, and at numerous parties and gatherings on diplomatic or higher cultural levels. He did not like to be seen in deep conversation with APN employees. But I knew, and from very reliable sources, that Mr. Dev Murarka was in fact "our man." Most of his dispatches from Moscow were presented as "freelance" material in the Western press. But there is simply no such thing in the USSR as a foreign freelancer: a foreign correspondent can obtain a residence visa and accreditation from the foreign affairs press department only if he represents a known newspaper. The exclusion from this rule is made *only* for Communists, representing non-existent (or barely existing) leftist tabloids. Thus Mr. Murarka's "freelance" status was a fake.

Those stubborn journalists who consistently reject Novosti's passes

and try to dig out their own stories normally do not last long in Moscow. Thus my friend Nihal Singh, Moscow correspondent for *The Statesman* (New Delhi), was recalled after my efforts to cultivate him for Novosti and the KGB failed. Naturally, I did not try hard, and did my dirty job very unwillingly, feeling respect for Mr. Singh's integrity and common-sense conservativism. I tried to give him all kinds of signals and hints to indicate that my interest in him was strictly separate from the job entrusted to me by Novosti and my KGB contact. I am still unsure whether he realized what I was trying to convey. He and his Dutch wife were very nice to me and to Anna, my wife. We genuinely enjoyed their company and tried to make our picnics as natural as possible.

On arrival in Delhi in February 1969, I renewed our friendship, both for my own pleasure and following the recommendations of my new KGB contact, comrade Gadin. We met several times at my place in 25 Barakhamba Road, and in the Delhi press club, on one occasion where he made a rather critical speech about the decision of Indira Gandhi to nationalize India's banks.

Whether because he read my messages correctly, or simply because he was a noble man, Nihal Singh published a very complimentary article about me in *The Statesman* after my defection. He had become the chief political correspondent and news editor by that time.

Figure 22: Mr. Nihal Singh (second from the left) of The Statesman (New Delhi) with a group of friendly Novosti mind-benders.

14. Services and pay

The official Prospectus of the Novosti Press Agency says:

> APN enters into contacts and concludes agreements and contracts with both state-owned and privately-owned newspapers, magazines, news agencies, publishing houses, broadcasting and television companies, as well as individuals, to supply them with Agency materials for an *appropriate fee*.

The above statement is an "overstatement," if not a "bloody lie." All through my career with the Novosti I have never heard of anyone in their right mind giving as much as a penny for Novosti's "material." Some sick-minded or uniquely stupid individuals and companies, yes indeed, sometimes do pay an "appropriate fee" to Novosti.

Thus, in 1975, editors and publishers of the world-famous *Encyclopaedia Britannica* bought from APN some 15 or 16 articles about the "Soviet Socialist Republics," wherein the flora and fauna of the Soviet colonies is described in glorious socialist-realistic detail, but not a word is said about the methods of appropriating (or rather, annexing) the national statehoods of formerly independent East European, Baltic and Asian nations. Both the origin and the current functioning of the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" are described there in mythical terms, in typical Novosti style. But again, there is not a single mention of what happened to about 40the native (ethnically non-Russian) populations of the "Soviet Republics": frozen and starved to death in Siberia, whence they were deported in cattle-vans, old men, women and children; able men machine-gunned by the KGB; or (the happiest ending!) forcibly assimilated by the fraternal invaders.

Also, not a word about the ethnic composition of the power organs of

the "republics"—the local Central Committees of the Communist Party—predominantly Russian or Ukrainian even in (and especially in) such ethnically distant areas as Central Asia, Caucasus and the Baltics...

Instead the *Britannica* is full of praises to the Soviet "public and political organizations," such as the Young Pioneers, the Young Communist League, DOSAAF (a paramilitary youth organization in the tradition of Hitler-Jugend), etc., and again, not a single word of *editorial* explanation about the nature of such unprecedented "political pluralism" in a country with a one-party system of power!

I can only guess about the true motivation of the *Britannica* publishers, borrowing such crude and very un-British propaganda from the Novosti, and *paying* for it with hard (though decadent) British pounds sterling. To my mind it is either a rare case of pure idiocy, or a side effect of an infectious disease of the 1970's called "detente"—wishful thinking about making the Soviet junta more peaceful by describing it as such.

There is no need to pay an "appropriate fee" to Novosti, because in most cases *Novosti* is too happy to pay (rubles, dollars or pounds), to anyone who agrees to publish its crap.

In fact, according to my observations and experience, confirmed by dozens of defectors from the KGB and APN, Novosti has a well-developed list of services and payments for all sorts of foreign collaborators, which I quote below.

15. Overt and legitimate operations

In its official Prospectus, Novosti states that "APN's publications are disseminated in foreign countries in strict accordance with the laws and regulations of these countries." That may or may not be true. But let us look at the various methods of dissemination of APN propaganda from the viewpoint of *legality* as well as *morality* (and I mean universal human morality, not the Communist one, where the end justifies the means).

I purposefully neglect considerations of "willingness" and "unwillingness" (due to ignorance, deceit, stupidity etc.) while observing the dissemination of APN's propaganda through the foreign collaborators in *their own* countries. Why? Because it is indeed too hard to prove the degree of that "willingness" on the part of a collaborator. But it is very easy to review the "active measures" promoted and facilitated by collaborators, from the standpoint of Western *morality* on one hand, and from the standpoint of Soviet law on the other. This comparison is extremely important to realize,:what the Soviet system itself considers *illegal* and *criminal* and what it does in foreign countries, using the legitimate freedoms of "open society" to achieve Soviet goals.

Thus, the "legitimate" or overt active measures conducted by the KGB-Novosti tandem abroad–through the foreign collaborators–include the following:

- Publication of a piece of pro-Soviet propaganda material in the Soviet media, authored by a foreign collaborator, with further re-circulation (by quotation, reference or reprinting) in the country of the collaborator;

- A public statement in the interests of the Soviet State, made by

a foreign collaborator on Soviet radio, TV, or at an international forum organized by the Novosti within the USSR; replaying of that statement in a foreign country;

- Same as above two, but originated in a foreign country and by the foreign collaborator, with further publication (and/or broadcasting or disseminating in any other way) in the foreign media;

- A speech made by a foreign collaborator at one of the CPSU-sponsored "international congresses" within the USSR, with further publication in the Novosti periodicals;

- Same as above, but in a foreign country, at a "leftist" or "liberal" forum, where the policies of the USA and its allies are being attacked;

- Publication of a book, literary work, piece of art, or scientific research, emphasizing the "virtues of a planned economy" and lambasting the "oppressive" capitalist system;

- Establishing a pro-Soviet newspaper, magazine, radical tabloid, or "liberal" periodical sharply attacking the "roots" of the "establishment" and the moral standards of Western society;

- Introduction and conducting of an academic course (or series of lectures, seminars, study groups, etc.) with an emphasis on Marxist-Leninist ideology, at any Western university;

- Establishing a pro-Socialist political or public organization in the country of a collaborator;

- Distribution of APN's periodicals, booklets, releases and other materials in the collaborator's country;

- Direct cooperation with APN's bureau (in the staff) abroad.

As you can see, there is nothing very dramatic in these active, but rather legitimate (from the standpoint of Western law) measures. Now, let us see what Novosti pays the foreign collaborators for these services, and what would be a Soviet citizen's "reward," if he would dare to do the same in reverse by cooperating with a foreign state or private organization–from the standpoint of Soviet law.

Service No. 1

publication of pro-Soviet (pro-Communist, pro-Socialist, but anti-American and anti- Western) material, an article, story or a news item, in the Soviet, or Soviet-controlled media, by a foreign collaborator of Novosti, concocted on the basis of an APN 'backgrounder,' supplied by Novosti agents, is worth an average of 25 rubles per typewritten page. (Depending on the rate of inflation, it may be more.) A collaborator may spend his rubles in the USSR, or receive his "royalty" in a currency of his own country according to the Soviet-established rate of exchange.

Now, look how the Soviet law defines this action, if committed by a Soviet (or Soviet-controlled country's) citizen: an author (a journalist, writer, or simply a restless person) who would dare to publish a pro-Western news item or an article (or anything even distantly critical of the Soviet empire) in the Western media, will get an average of 5 years of imprisonment (or concentration camp) for this so-called "anti-Soviet agitation" as defined by Article 70 of the Soviet Criminal Code. See the difference? For 10 pages of pro-Communist crap a Western collaborator gets 200 rubles, but a Soviet citizen - 5 years of hard labor. (Daniel and Synyavsky, the two Russians who ventured to publish their essays abroad, and a Yugoslavian Mijailo Mijailov, who did the same, spent more than 5 years– but that is a pure "technicality." Sinyavsky and Mijailov are now living in the West, so they may share their experiences with the Western collaborators of Novosti, if they were willing to listen, which they normally aren't.)

Service No. 2

For a verbal statement of a pro-Soviet nature made by a foreign collaborator of APN within the USSR, or in a "brotherly" territory (Cuba, Nicaragua, Angola, Vietnam, Afghanistan, etc), as arranged by APN on a radio or TV station, the foreigner receives from 200 to 1000 rubles, depending on the content of his statement and the reputation (notoriety) of the collaborator.

A Soviet citizen simply cannot make a pro-Western statement on foreign radio, even if he (or she) is allowed to visit a foreign country. This is specified in the Secret Briefing at the Visa Department of the Central Committee, which every Soviet citizen traveling abroad, without exception, must read and sign before his visa is approved. But if a Soviet citizen would dare to smuggle a tape-recorded message out of the USSR, he would be treated according to the same Article 70 of the Criminal Code: five years of hard labor in Siberia or some equally pleasant location.

Service No. 3

For the same as the above two, but directed by the Novosti towards the foreign media (planted in foreign newspapers, for example), a foreign collaborator, as a rule, is paid in both Soviet rubles at Moscow APN headquarters and in foreign moneys by a foreign branch of Novosti in his country. Sometimes the collaborator is also paid by the "useful idiots" of a foreign newspaper, publishing house, or TV network. In those rare cases when the story is "unacceptable" to the foreign media, a local bureau of Novosti may "push it through" by simple bribery, intoxicating an editor at an embassy party, or coercing a publisher in some other way (by promising a free trip to the USSR to meet with Bolshoi ballerinas and famous milkmaids in Murmansk). The amount of the bribe would depend on the importance and news value of the material. To my knowledge, Novosti included several cooperative Indian publishers in the group of "Jawaharlal Nehru Prize Winners," which simply means a half-million Rupee bribe in a legitimate and rather respectable form.

Naturally, a Soviet citizen, should he dream of collaborating with, say, UPI or France Presse, will not survive for too long as a "freelancer": instead of a Pulitzer Prize he may get 10 years at a concentration camp in the GULAG for "collaboration with foreign intelligence services" (and UPI is a "stooge of the CIA," according to *Pravda*, isn't it?).

Service No. 4

A speech made by a foreign collaborator of Novosti at one of the "international forums" orchestrated by the Agitprop within the Soviet Empire. For the publishing rights of that pronouncement (the text of which is often prepared by the APN staffers long before a foreign guest lands at Moscow Airport), Novosti pays to the collaborator a one-time fee of about 2,000 rubles, plus all his travel expenses. Naturally, the collaborator has to earn the honor by being a good parrot and obedient pet. Mother Russia seldom extends hospitality to "unuseful idiots," who stubbornly refuse to read their speeches from the prepared texts.

As you may have already guessed, no Soviet citizen has a *legal right* to make any unauthorized speech at any international forum, least of all one which is "anti-Soviet" or pro-Western. Violation of this law is considered "high treason" by Article 64 of the Soviet Criminal Code, which, by the way, provides the ultimate punishment: *death*.

The only possible way for a Soviet citizen to address an international forum is to be *assigned* to make such a speech by the Agitprop. Of course, there is another, more troublesome way: to become a dissident writer, to be arrested and sent to the GULAG for 11 years, released, harassed by the KGB for another 10 years, and finally kicked out of the country to the West. Then only—yes, one may have a right to talk to an international forum, and in the process be ridiculed and offended by the Western liberal media as a "cold war paranoid" and "right wing extremist." Alexander Solzhenitsyn tried this method.

Service No. 5

For making pro-Communist speeches and pro-Soviet statements *outside* of the Soviet Empire, the collaborators of APN are paid accordingly in the currencies of their own countries, at the rate of exchange established by the Soviet bank (one progressive Soviet ruble for one decadent American dollar, or even less). Often APN-KGB funnels additional moneys to the organizers of pro-Communist gatherings, and also covers the expenses for media coverage of the event. So, the foreign collaborators again have two chances to be remunerated: from Novosti directly, and from local "useful idiots."

Naturally, pro-Western public statements or speeches are unthinkable within the Soviet Empire even if and when such a science-fictional event might be financed by the CIA or the John Birch Society.

In any case, a Western collaborator of APN-KGB would be paid some $ 2,000, whilst a citizen of the Communist Bloc may have a choice of firing squad or psychiatric asylum with forceful "treatment" by mind-destructive chemicals.

Service No. 6

Publication of a book, literary work, piece of art, or scientific research, by a foreign collaborator, with APN's aid and ideological "encouragement," glorifying the Communist (or Socialist) way of life, "collectivist" philosophy, planned economy and/or "bright future for all mankind"– a one-world system based on "progress and just redistribution of wealth," and defaming "decadent capitalism" in the process, is usually rewarded by Novosti with a lump sum in five figures in rubles, plus, very often, a similar royalty in "hard currency." All the expenses for publication, editing, technical production and distribution are normally taken over by the Novosti. The author may also be invited to visit the USSR for a "free trip" and a title of "progressive," together with some "honorable diploma" from Patrice Lumumba Friendship University, which the collaborator may proudly frame and exhibit to his (or her) academic brotherhood (or

sisterhood).

A Soviet counterpart of a foreign collaborator, for even trying to do the same towards the free world, may earn various "royalties" for publishing his work abroad: from 5 years of labor camp (Daniel and Sinyavsky), to public defamation in the Soviet media (Pasternak, Bulgakov, Zoshchenko), to a forced exile from the Motherland (Solzhenitsyn), to a firing squad (Babel, Mandelshtam, Meyerhold and hundreds of other intellectuals during the period of unprecedented blossoming of Socialist Realism in arts and science). If the book published abroad has any scientific value (not even a "secret" or "defense" subject, but, say, something about the sex habits of polar bears), the author, for passing his work to foreign publishers, may be charged with "high treason," according to Articles 64, 65 and 75 of the Criminal Code (treason, espionage, and divulging of State secrets). And every schoolchild in the USSR knows that every Soviet scientist, without exception, is the property of the State, together with all the contents of his brain. Therefore everything he writes, scribbles or utters *is* a state secret.

Service No. 7

Establishing a tabloid, newspaper or magazine in a foreign country, in which, directly or otherwise, Soviet ideology and Soviet foreign policy are justified or supported, or in which Soviet-supported surrogates (Cuba, Angola, Nicaragua, the P.L.O., various 'National-Liberation Fronts') are described in positive, "progressive" terms. For this type of service collaborators of APN-KGH are rewarded through various "front organizations" formally not related to the Soviet embassy or Novosti Press Agency. In my own practice in India we gave birth to dozens of such illegitimate "children" of APN, from radical students' tabloids to "independent progressive" magazines, the circulation of which would not exceed 100 copies and the entire staff consisted of 1 person. The propaganda effect of these papers is negligible. And indeed it is not the main purpose of APN, but the creation of such periodicals gives APN-KGB a legal and overt channel to funnel money and support to the so-called "activ," a group

of radicals and agitators who are officially on the payroll of this or that newspaper as staff writers, columnists, etc., but who are in fact simply signing the materials (articles, commentaries, news items) prepared by the Novosti bureau in a foreign country. Most of the time these activists are engaged in organizational work on campuses and in slums of large "capitalists" cities. Their "salaries" from the newspaper allow them to survive financially without being employed productively anywhere at all.

The money is not paid to the papers directly. It is channeled through real or fake advertising agencies, which place commercial ads for such Soviet businesses as Aeroflot, Intourist, Tractorexport, or even for some non-existent products and services. What matters is that money transfer to the "activ" becomes legitimate.

The most active and survivable organs of such media conceived with the help from Novosti are taken good care of. The editors and the "staff" are regularly invited to the USSR (or one of the "Peoples" Republics of the Soviet Empire) for prolonged visits, or for medical treatment of their V.D. and hernias acquired in the endless "class struggle" in their own countries. Some of the activists spend their vacations in Soviet Crimea, or at Bulgarian Black Sea resorts. Some send their children to Soviet schools for a "free education" (paid by the Soviet taxpayers), or to Soviet summer camps like Artek in Crimea.

To realize what a mirror replica of such an activity would mean to a Soviet citizen within the USSR, try to establish a pro-Western (pro-"capitalist") newspaper in the city of Sverdlovsk.

Service No. 8

Introduction of a "Marxist-Leninist" (or similarly "progressive") course of lectures, seminars, study groups, etc. in any Western school or college by Novosti's collaborators is normally compensated by either one-time payment in the form of "prizes" dedicated to "peace, friendship and mutual understanding between the nations," or by several (often regular) free trips to the USSR to attend various "international conferences" under

the guise of "cultural and academic exchange." Most of the expenses for such trips are paid by the APN-KGB. Some Western scholars, suffering from self-importance, are being "bought" by simply publishing their vapid books and "scientific works" (essays, research papers, etc.) in the USSR or other "fraternal" countries. Disproportionately large "royalties" paid by the Novosti to such collaborators soon become quite an addiction to a "professor," especially if his "work" is poorly appreciated in his own country for being too "leftist" even for enfeebled Western brains.

For a comparison, try to imagine a Russian professor introducing a course of lectures on, say, profit-oriented management in… Leningrad University! Some Soviet academics have gotten themselves into deep trouble even for much less ideologically dangerous lectures on the subjects of genetics or cybernetics ("pseudo-science of the decadent West.") Many Soviet academics perished in the GULAG simply for quoting from Western textbooks, or for being too slow to adjust to the ever-fluctuating "general line" of the Party Ideology. Some ended up in "sharashkas" (special prisons for scientists, where they continue to work for the glory of Soviet technology, as did Tupolev, Koroylyov, and many others. The "sharashkas" are excellently described by Alexander Solzhenitsyn in his novel "First Circle.")

Thus: half a million dollars for a Western collaborator of APN; lifetime imprisonment for his Soviet colleague for trying to "build bridges between scientists of the world."

Service No. 9

Establishing (founding) a pro-Communist public organization (such as the "Soviet-American Friendship Society" etc.), and popularization of the activities of such organizations through the local media, representing them as "true expressers of public opinion in a democratic society," is rewarded by the Novosti through various "foundations" and front groups. Most of the funds and revenues are generated locally, in a target country, with the help of a professional fund-raiser, employed by the Novosti through intermediaries. Very often the activists of "peacenik"

Figure 23: Tomas Schuman (second left) with a group of collaborators, distributors of Novosti subversive propaganda in India, visiting the Kremlin. A bonus for good work.

Figure 24: A.Biswas, editor of The Amrita Bazar Patrika newspaper (Calcutta) as a Novosti guest in Moscow, accompanied by an Interpreter.

and "freeznik" movements do not realize that they are, in fact, on the payroll and under control of the APN-KGB. Some prefer to overlook or not to understand this sensitive issue... for the sake of financial comfort. An Indian friend of mine in New Delhi, an activist of the "Indo-Soviet Cultural Society" (ISCO), was paid as much as 600 Rupees a month, the average salary of a junior bureaucrat in Indian government plus some "expenses" and occasional trips to the USSR for fun, rest and further indoctrination. Surely he understood that the society he administered had nothing to do with either "culture" or "friendship" between the people of India and the USSR. But who could refuse an invitation to Sochi (a Black Sea resort) or resist the temptation to be mentioned in the world press as a "progressive and sober-thinking personality"?

The most active public figures, instrumental in the process of creation of pro-Soviet organizations and groups, are being systematically showered with all sorts of "international prizes": Lenins, Nobels, Jawaharlal Nehrus, etc. A one-time "prize" from the Novosti maybe, sometimes, [is worth] as much as a million American dollars.

By comparison, a person in the USSR who would try to establish a pro-Western, pro-Democratic, or (what a horror!) pro-Jewish (pro-Israel) organization in Moscow, will get as much as 15 years in a concentration camp or even the death penalty, in strict accordance with the Soviet Criminal Code, Articles # 70, 64, 65, 71, 75 (Propaganda, Treason, Espionage, Propaganda of War, and Divulging of State Secrets). Helsinki monitoring groups in the USSR (what could be more "peaceful" and "friendly"!!) were harassed by the KGB to their complete extinction. Rare daredevils of Soviet "peaceniks" who demanded the freeze of *soviet* nuclear weaponry were put in KGB psychiatric asylums and tortured by chemicals.

In other words: a million dollars for a Western peacenik and a slow painful death for a Soviet one. Do you sleep well, Western collaborators of Novosti? Does anything bother you, aside from the Pentagon's warheads'?

Service No. 10

Dissemination (distribution) of APN periodicals and propaganda booklets in the free world through legitimate circulation agencies and retail book stores, on campuses and through school libraries is rewarded by a regular salary roughly equal to that of an agent for subscription in the target country. The collaborators-distributors are also rewarded by regular free trips the USSR (or fraternal countries), and sometimes by one-time prizes and valuable presents, from a "Matreshka" doll to a camera, watch, TV set, or even a Soviet-made car.

Promotion of subscriptions to Soviet propaganda publications is also rewarded by a generous "commission" of up to 60of the publication, such as "Soviet Life," (officially published by the Soviet embassy in Washington, D.C.), and other magazines, and books.

A similar "service" by a Soviet citizen to a publisher in any free country is unheard of, but punishable by the same above articles of the Criminal Code.

Service No. 11

Direct cooperation with Novosti Press Agency, either in one of the foreign bureaus or within the USSR, pays regular wages, roughly equal to the wages of the media workers in the target country. Bonuses may include a variety of awards, from a free automobile to a free space at the cemetery near the Kremlin Wall, next to many other collaborators– from John Reed to Dean Reed (an American pop-singer, residing mainly in Moscow. He is not dead yet, though.)

Direct employment of a Soviet citizen by a foreign mission or a news agency is high treason, unless the employee is an officer of the UPDK) a branch of the KGB responsible for hiring domestic servants, secretaries, drivers, interpreters, etc., for foreign nationals residing in the USSR. UPDK means "Directorate of Affairs of Diplomatic Corpus"– Upravlenie Delami Diplomaticheskogo Korpusa, in Russian).

Any other Soviet citizen who would dare to be hired by a foreigner

in Moscow is treated as an enemy of [the] People, with every regular consequence.

This is a brief and far-from-complete list of "services" which the foreign collaborators of Novosti render to the self-proclaimed enemy of their own countries. These actions are *overt*: any sensible person can, if he wants, observe them and monitor the results in both short and long time spans. There is not a *single* law in any free country that would prevent collaborators from *openly* and *legitimately* cooperating with the APN-KGB. But there is a law in the USA, which forbids the American intelligence services to contact (or use in any other way) their own American media to even *explain* (to say nothing about *justify*) their operations against the KGB-controlled Novosti Press Agency, the ideological subverter that feels at home in any "belligerent capitalist country." I was told it is a price Democracy must pay for its freedom. To my mind, it is a price the Free World pays for self-destruction.

Covert & illegitimate active measures

Most of the "covert" and "unlawful" actions have already been well described in many books by many Western authors (John Barron's "KGB Today" is one of the most recent). I shall list only several of them, known to be conducted through the Novosti Press Agency. Some of these active measures are harmful and unlawful enough to attract the attention of the law enforcement organs of the Free World, but remain unpunished for various diplomatic reasons, such as not wanting to "rock the boat" or "threaten the Russians," or so as not to "harm the spirit of detente," etc. Others are considered to be too unlikely to stand up in court, and, even if proven to be unlawful, too unlikely to result in punishment of the offender, that is the Soviet Government, by, say, collecting judgments or fines from the USSR, or for that matter from the administration of the Novosti Press Agency. In fact, there is a "catch": the official Prospectus of APN specifics that "Novosti will not be legally responsible for any claims against the Soviet State," and the other way around: the Soviet State is not accountable for claims against the Novosti (since it is a "non-government" organization).

Many of these active measures are "covert" only in a purely formal sense: every sensible member of the Western (or Eastern) security service knows perfectly well about Novosti mischief, and so does the media. Conservative and anti-Communist groups make this information available to the public and to government bureaucrats. It is being consistently ignored both by the bureaucrats and by the public, who prefer to remain in blissful ignorance about such unpleasant facts, leading to the uncomfortable realization that they are being duped.

So, with the support of, or in cooperation with, the KGB, with practically unlimited financing by the Soviet State (which in turn is being financed by the Western banks and the multinational corporations) with the assistance of foreign collaborators, and without any fear of being taken before any court of justice and punished, Novosti Press Agency performs the following dirty tricks and pays the following moneys (and awards) to the collaborators:

Service No. 1

Defamation and slander campaigns against Soviet citizens (dissidents, moral protesters, intellectuals, etc.) who fell into disfavor with the Soviet junta. If and when it is done in the Soviet media by a foreign collaborator, the "royalty" is paid either in Soviet rubles (the same rate as for the "overt" publication), or in a foreign currency, or through various "bonuses," such as a free trip to the USSR. Thus, for defamation of Alexander Solzhenitsyn in the Soviet media, several Western writers and journalists were listed as "progressive" and their names were added to the lists for future invitations by the Novosti. For slandering Solzhenitsyn in Pravda, a Canadian writer by the name of Farley Mowat was awarded another free trip to Siberia, where he did research for another book– a "bestseller" (Mowat, 1972) (Mowat, 1973) about the happy life of Soviet Eskimos. For slandering academician Sakharov in the *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, another Canadian "progressive" journalist, Mary Dawson, may simply have been paid some 3,000 decadent Canadian dollars in the innocent form of a "literary prize" from a Communist tabloid such as the *Canadian Tribune*.

Some of the remuneration to the collaborators comes in the form of a "valuable present," as described above.

Due to the fact that Soviet dissidents have absolutely no opportunity to bring their foreign offenders to court (a Soviet or a Western one), most of the slanderers and defamers remain unpunished and free to enjoy Novosti payments and favours. Conversely, if a Soviet citizen would dare to say something "disrespectful" about any of the foreign stooges of the Kremlin, he may he charged with "defamation and slander" according to Articles 130 & 131 of the Soviet Criminal Code. The punishment may vary from a heavy fine to 3 years of imprisonment plus exile, unless "compounding ideological evidence" is found, in which case the Soviet dissident will end up either in the GULAG or in a psychiatric asylum.

Service No. 2

The same, but in the media of the Free World. In this case the foreign collaborator (slanderer) is being paid twice: once from the Novosti (in Rubles), and the second time in a foreign currency, by the publishers of the "progressive" media in the West.

Service No. 3

Slander, defamation or libel directed against a foreign person– a politician, writer, publisher, etc.– preferably an influential and anti-Communist (conservative, patriotically-minded person), resisting Soviet influence in his own country. The list of most desirable targets for the Novosti-KGB-orchestrated process of character assassination includes virtually every prominent public figure of the Free World daring to criticize Soviet foreign policy or Soviet practices at home. In India during my career with the Soviet embassy, such [a] target was Mr. Morarjee Desai, leader of "conservative opposition" to Indira Gandhi's ruling National Congress party. With financial and ideological encouragement from Novosti, collaborators in the leftist liberal media poured gallons of venom on that person, describing him as a "reactionary, fascist, ultra-right-wing fanatic,

lackey of Western imperialism, etc." Apart from name-calling, Novosti-sponsored radical tabloids published bits and pieces of rumors, half-truths and pure fabrications, designed to discredit this politician. It is difficult to distinguish, sometimes, a locally created hate campaign against a conservative politician from a Novosti-orchestrated one. To my knowledge, the role of many collaborators is often simply to fan the flames of slander hysteria. And it is difficult, indeed (unless one has an "insider" within the Soviet embassy), to establish the fact of payment to a collaborator. Even if payment could be proven, the law enforcement body of a target country has the problem of proving that the payment relates to specific seditious lies circulated in the media.

After my defection to the West and settling in Canada, I came across a classic example of how the libel (or character assassination) process is initiated. A Canadian journalist and broadcaster with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), a Mr. Mark Starowicz, for several years was supplying KGB agent Konstantin Geiwandov (officially a *Pravda* correspondent in Ottawa) with all sorts of information of a rather private nature about several members of the Parliamentary Press Gallery. Mr. Starowicz was handsomely paid for his services. He knew perfectly well the purpose of comrade Geiwandov's curiosity: that information was needed for only one possible purpose– defamation. He also knew that what he was doing is described in Canadian law as "violation of privacy" and "spreading of gossip, harmful to individual(s)." But when the whole story was revealed in a conservative Canadian newspaper, The Toronto Sun, Mark Starowicz was not even reprimanded by the management of the CBC. On the contrary, he was promoted to the position of managing producer for one of the most popular and politically influential TV programs ("Sunday Magazine." Interviewed by journalists, Mr. Starowicz responded to the effect that "writing for a foreign newspaper (*Pravda*), and receiving money for that, is not a crime in Canada." He was right. Legally speaking.

A recent example of a character assassination campaign in the Western media which looks to me like a typical APN-KGB trick is *The New*

York Times' charges against Salvadorian politician Roberto D'Aubuisson of being involved in "a plot to assassinate the U.S. ambassador to El Salvador." To this date, *The New York Times* has failed to produce a single shred of evidence, or, for that matter, any common-sense logical explanation–why would a leader of the second biggest political party in El Salvador be interested in murdering an American ambassador? (Especially on the eve of the U.S. Congress debate on the issue of U.S. financial aid to El Salvador.)

What we did during my career with the Novosti-KGB was indeed very simple. We would first plant a fabrication like that (against D'Aubuisson) in a lousy, insignificant leftist or Communist tabloid in a target country. Step two: *Pravda* (or one of APN's publications, press releases, etc.) would reprint that "news item," referring to the source of information as an "influential progressive newspaper." Step three: *The New York Times* (or *Washington Post*, or some other respectable Western paper) would quote *Pravda*, repeating the accusation. Step four: one of the So-viet commentators (Vladimir Pozner of Radio Moscow, incidentally my former colleague within APN-KGB; or Gennadi Gerasimov, or George Adamov) would quote *The New York Times* during an interview, such as on "ABC Nightline" referring to the news item as an expression of Western opinion. By the time the lie reaches the western public, it is nearly impossible to trace it all the way back to the third-rate tabloid, least of all to the originator of the slander– Novosti Press Agency. This is exactly what happened to the "opinion" that the ill-fated KAL 007 was indeed "on a spy mission for the CIA" and that its shooting down by the Soviet MIGs was a justified "response. "The main objective of that disinformation trick is achieved: Western public opinion is skillfully *side-tracked* from the real issues, which are:

- The cold-blooded murder of 269 passengers of a civilian aircraft;
- Soviet violations of the SALT treaties, which fact they were trying to hide;
- There is hardly anything "secret" about Sakhalin Island–every

square inch of it has been photographed by United States satellites thousands of times. A simple and common-sense explanation of the incident never occurred to the minds of the Western analysts. The true nature of the Soviet system is being obscured again.

The Western public was once more lured into wishful thinking and "forgiveness." This is exactly what "active measures" are designed for.

Service No. 4

Infiltration into political organizations and groups which are considered by the KGB to be "anti-Soviet" or "reactionary," and destroying these groups from within, using blackmail, corruption, bribery, sex scandals; exposing members of these organizations to local law enforcement agencies, and to pressure groups and "special interest" groups; filing suits in court against these organizations by charging them with "violation of civil rights," etc.; and orchestrating vicious smear campaigns in the liberal media. Here Novosti plays the role of catalyst in this process. Rank-and-file members of the Liberal attackers seldom suspect that several (or one) of their leaders are in fact collaborators of APN-KGB. They probably would not care even if they knew it for sure.

Service No. 5

Slander campaigns against émigré groups and organizations in Western countries; spreading racial and ethnic hatred among various communities of immigrants from Communist (or Socialist, Soviet-controlled) countries, with the ultimate purpose of neutralizing them as a political force, isolating them from the natural democratic political process, preventing them from using freedom of the press and associations; preventing them from influencing and educating public opinion in the host countries by revealing the truth about the systems from which they have escaped. By calling the people from Communist countries "crazy ethnics" and "fringe lunatics," collaborators of APN-KGB among the Liberal left in the West do their greatest service to the Soviet propaganda. They dismiss the

information and opinions of the immigrants as "ravings of emotionally unbalanced people, paranoids, who see a Communist under every bed."

I have met a number of such collaborators in Canada, where they are very active and effective. Some of them have a sympathetic ear in the Liberal government of Canada and the Civil Service.

Service No. 6

Financial, organizational and moral aid to local groups of radicals, militants, and outright terrorists. Novosti collaborators act in this area as middlemen to obscure the direct Soviet involvement in subversive and terrorist active measures in foreign countries. APN-KGB maintains a large network of useful contacts in many universities for the purpose of selecting and cultivating future recruits for "national liberation movements" and similar organizations. During my career in India, for example, one of my functions was to compile lists of young "progressively-minded" people, who could be recommended later for enrollment in "studies" at the Patrice Lumumba Friendship University in Moscow. The first step to such an objective is to befriend young people by regularly inviting them to various "social occasions" organized by the APN together with the "Cultural Department" of the Soviet embassy.

Financial aid to such groups in target countries (when they are created and led by graduates of Lumumba University) is affected through the above-mentioned front organizations and Novosti-created "organs of progressive mass media." Moral support comes in the form of a steady flow of propaganda literature, edited and translated in Moscow by APN, but printed by friendly local publishers.

Service No. 7

With the help of foreign collaborators, APN-KGB orchestrates defamation and disinformation operations directed against the law enforcement and intelligence agencies of the target countries. This process is well-described by John Barron ("KGB Today") and by Arnaud de Borchgrave

& Robert Moss in their classic novel "The Spike."

What I have described here is nothing new. Thousands of defectors from Communism have been telling the same stories for the past half-century. One of the latest defectors from the KGB, incidentally my former schoolmate from the Institute of Oriental Languages, Stanislav Levchenko, succeeded where I have failed for the last 14 years since my defection: he convinced John Barron to present the sensitive issue of ideological subversion (active measures) to the Western public. In its essence, the process of subversion is also not new– it has not been invented by the Russians, or Communists– it is as old as mankind itself. In 500 B.C., Chinese philosopher and strategist Sun-Tzu formulated the main principle of subversion very simply: "The highest art of war is not to fight on a battle field, but to subvert the enemy by destroying all the moral values in your enemy's country."

The core of active measures consists of a consistent effort to demoralize the public, the majority of the population in the West. The media is the most convenient vehicle for such demoralization. Whether the "useful idiots" of the media do it for profit, for self-glorification, or due to ignorance or fear of "Mother Russia," is totally immaterial. The rewards which APN-KGB collaborators receive are pathetic by Western standards, but they have to be taken into consideration. Here they are:

Material rewards Regular payments in Soviet or foreign currency; free trips to the USSR for tourism, pleasure, indoctrination, or medical treatment in special clinics and sanatoriums; valuable gifts, from "Matreshka dolls" to automobiles.

Rewards of a material nature Moneys paid in the form of "Lenin's (or some other dictator's) Prizes" which accomplishes two jobs at one time: vindicating a dictator and corrupting the prize-winner); covering expenses for publications of the collaborator's books and other works; admitting the collaborator's children to Soviet schools and universities for "free education."

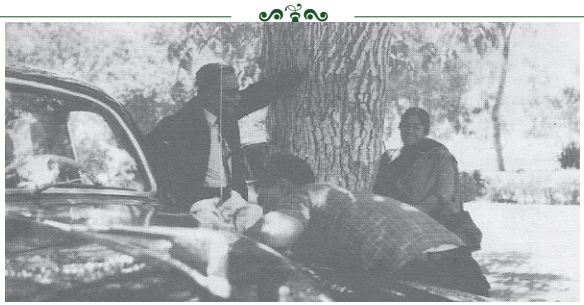


Figure 25: Another collaborator of Novosti–Mr.Kumaramangalam, accompanied by the author during his trip to Samarkand. Mr.Kumaramangalam refused to yield to the KGB-Novosti pressure to influence his brother–Chief of General Staff of Indian armed forces. Several years later he died in an air crash.

Rewards of a prestigious nature Granting the title of "progressive" journalist (or writer, etc.); invitation to an international forum or a conference organized by APN-KGB; arranging meetings with "rare and famous" personalities in the USSR (space pilots, ballerinas, etc.); invitation to attend a celebration of something or other (like the October Revolution) at the Soviet embassy with lots of booze and nice girls (KGB "Lastochkas"); a trip to a "closed location," such as a nuclear research center; an honorary scientific "degree" from one of the Soviet universities; a replica of "Sputnik."

Rewards of [an] amoral nature Sex (often perverted), alcohol, drugs.

And in exchange for these miserable (by Western standards) rewards, the foreign collaborators of Novosti trade to the Soviet tyrants something priceless– the collective consciousness of their own nations, freedom of thought and sanity of judgement, and–in the long run–*freedom* itself.

If we believe that the Communist threat is a *moral* problem, the solution to it exists, probably, somewhere in the realm of the *immaterial*, moral, or even *spiritual* existence of humans.

16. Pentagon's gun fodder or America's conscience?

For a long time I refused to believe that our anti-American propaganda, even with a little help from such friends as Jane Fonda and Harrison Salisbury, could so successfully mislead the world that no one seemed able to see who the real aggressor was in Vietnam. Until I met four US Army deserters.

It happened on September 16, 1968, while Novosti staffers were still recuperating from the shock inflicted on us by the "normalization" of fraternal Czechoslovakia by our tanks. I was summoned by our Asia Department boss, comrade Pushkov. In his office I was introduced to an unsmiling comrade in civilian clothes, whom I identified as a GRU (military intelligence) officer. For a KGB he lacked that peculiar expression of dishonesty and artificial politeness on his face. It was explained to me that, together with the serious comrade and an APN photographer, I was to visit a group of Americans, "honest young men, the conscience of America," said the boss. "Communist defectors," I thought. "How boring!"

A black APN Volga took us by Leningradskoye shosse about 70 km north of Moscow. It was getting dark when we turned east into an unpaved country road, and went on through mud and large puddles for another half hour. On the way we passed two small gray collective farms, where, despite the total electrification achieved after the seventh five-year plan, not a single "Ilyich light bulb" was to be seen. Finally we entered an old estate on the bank of a small river. It looked like a large neglected park or a pioneer camp, with sandy driveway, rare flower beds, and numerous propaganda posters on plywood boards stuck wherever

possible. The slogans were in English and Russian.

In a large guest room of an ancient pre-revolutionary mansion, we found four young boys in blue jeans and worn-out sweaters, looking like anything but the US Army soldiers we used to see on photographs in the Soviet media, with sarcastic captions such as "Pentagon's gun fodder," "American military war criminals," etc. Two of them had long, untidy hair, one sported a beard "a-la-Russ," and the fourth desperately wanted to look like Che Guevara. The "gun fodder" or "America's conscience" were playing billiards and were obviously bored. Our arrival was a welcome change for them.

Their story sounded like many other stories about Vietnam I had read in West European and Canadian newspapers. Charles Nathan Smith, Sarry Tipton, Robert Fiorris and Joseph Parra met in a hospital in Japan, where all four of them had been sent for treatment of minor wounds and detoxification from drug abuse. Released from the hospital, the GIs spent some time with Japanese girls, following the Beatles' slogan, "make love not war," and decided to dedicate the rest of their lives to the struggle for peace.

For smiling red-head Sarry Tipton, it was "a hopeless war" because, as he said, the moment the Americans left, it would take the Communists two days to liberate the South. Charles Smith's excuse was "fear of becoming a professional killer." Handsome Mexican-looking field doctor Joseph Parra expressed the desire "to treat, not wounds, when it is too late, but peoples' heads, before they go to war." Robert Fiorris, the one with Czar Nicholas' beard, had a good reason to desert. It is criminal, he said, to kill the Vietnamese just because they want to live under Communism.

Having come to these profound conclusions, the four GIs one day walked right into the Soviet embassy and asked for political asylum and a chance to tell the world the truth about Vietnam. Both requests were promptly granted. The deserters were flown to Moscow and introduced to the expert on truth: Novosti.

The "press-conference" lasted hardly a quarter of an hour. The de-

serters, it seemed, knew all of my questions ahead of time, and I definitely knew in advance everyone of their answers. Putting my tape recorder aside, I tried to get rid of the GRU comrade by inviting the boys for a walk in the park, hoping for something more sincere in an informal atmosphere. Nothing doing! Even then, the boys went on playing back our propaganda to me: the United States was bad, Hanoi was good; killing the North Vietnamese with American bombs was a crime, killing the South Vietnamese with Soviet-made rockets was an anti-colonial struggle, therefore it was "good."

The damn "rest home" had no bar, where I could pump some vodka into the Americans to make them less progressive, and the GRU agent was uncooperative when I suggested that we send our Volga to the nearest village store for a bottle. So, my efforts to get a "balanced" picture of the Vietnam War failed miserably. Time was running short, and the Novosti photographer, having exposed all his film, had lost interest in geopolitics and was impatient to go back home. So, we shook hands, pronounced meaningless "goodlucks" and "see-you-laters," and left.

On the way back to Moscow it suddenly dawned on me that the Americans may actually have been telling me the truth, the way they saw it. Why would they care who is the real aggressor and who is the victim? They wanted to survive, and to enjoy life. And any "truth" which helped them to survive was OK with them. What do they care if that "truth" happens to be a big Communist lie, fabricated for the ultimate purpose of "liberating mankind," which means destroying the society that has given them birth, life, and freedom, and which society now asked that they defend it by risking their lives? Their choice was clear: to die defending the better and freer society, or to survive in the worst one. Dead or red? They have chosen red and alive, and they do not want to be called traitors for making that choice. They'd rather be called "America's conscience."

I, too, was contemplating defection. I would gladly have changed places with these GIs. But how about dying? And what sort of truth I would offer to justify my treason? Would anyone believe me if I said that betraying my country's inhuman and aggressive system, to help the

West, is an act of conscience, self-sacrifice, and heroism?

These thoughts were driving me crazy. At moments like these, I needed a glass of vodka or a good friend to talk to. Or both. And, sending our photographer and Volga to the office, I flagged down a taxi and zoomed by the Ring Road to Kuntsevo Hospital, reserved for apparatus of the Central Committee and *nomenklatura*. There, behind the tall barbed-wire fence, in a "special" room with a TV set, my former schoolmate Vadim Smirnov was recuperating after an operation on his eye. (He had lost one eye in a stupid fight in Pitsunda, a Central Committee Black Sea resort, where, he said, a group of Georgians and local thugs trespassed onto the "Party property" and started a squabble with the Muscovites).

Kuntsevo hospital is heavily guarded by militia, but one has to know our Soviet security system. I sneaked into the area through a fox-hole under the face, about two hundred meters away from the brightly lit gateway. Once inside, no internal guard had the right to stop me. I got to the 8th floor uneventfully, and found comrade Smirnov in a rather depressed state of mind. His eye ached, and his reputation, as the youngest *apparatchik* in the India section of the International Department of the CC, was in question.

Nevertheless, Smirnov was glad to see me, and as usual, ready to listen to my problems or crazy ideas. I relayed to Smirnov the story of my meeting with the four American deserters, including their excellent playback of our propaganda, and then I shared some of my thoughts with him. How come, I asked, we're hysterical about the "psychological war of the Pentagon," but the American GIs I had just met were so shamelessly "unbrainwashed"? How come the US Army is unable to occupy the whole damn country of Vietnam, if they're really the "warmongers" our propaganda claims? How come the war goes on—on the territory of South Vietnam, not the North, if, as we claim, the "democratic" Vietnamese are a "peace-loving nation"? How do we, the Soviet people, benefit from supporting the Communists in Vietnam?

The young *apparatchik* was silent for a while, and then, instead of an answer, almost like a biblical prophet he told me a story, a dream

he had had recently. The symbolism of my friend's dream shook me strongly.

> I found myself in an armored personnel carrier as it climbed onto the steep bank of a marsh, coughing out clouds of exhaust. In front of us, somewhere beyond a cluster of bushes and palm trees, we could hear sharp bursts of machine gun fire and the occasional blasts of mortars. My companions were strong, healthy boys, and I could not tell if they also were feeling the same sickening fear in their stomachs, as I did. With tightly pursed lips, and calm eyes with flickers of steel in them, they serenely looked at the scenery from under their camouflaged helmets set low above their eyebrows, as if they were on a sightseeing tour of Vietnam, not at war. They sat in straight but relaxed postures, casually holding their carbines. Some quietly chatted with their neighbors. A black soldier next to me was elegantly smoking something suspicious. There were about twenty of them, plus a sergeant. Their lazy laughter and crude jokes, which I did not understand, were in screaming discord with my own mood, and they irritated me. I felt out of place among these American soldiers, with my own fears, my dogmatic ideas, in the middle of a strange war which, in a way, was inexplicably a concern of mine.
>
> 'Laugh your stupid heads off,' I mumbled in a trembling voice. 'Damned cowboys!' Why bother yourselves with such things as conscience?'
>
> Nobody responded. No one even turned his head to look at me. Fear and anger swelled in my chest, and words uncontrollably started pouring out of me, before I could realize what the hell I was talking about.
>
> 'Who gave you the right to kill the Vietnamese?' I asked in a loud voice, tense with indignation I did not really feel. 'Why don't you go home to your color TVs and pumpkin pies, and leave the Vietnamese alone, to decide what they really want,

communism or your so-called democracy?' I almost shouted at the soldiers.

Again, there was no response. The black soldier looked through me and tossed a roach over his shoulder. There was an ominous pause, and in the hot humid air the sound of my voice competed with the roar of the engine and bursts of gunfire. I knew I should shut up, but I could not.

'You are the professional killers!' I shouted at the top of my lungs. 'You are the brainless gun fodder of the Pentagon! You are the 'universal soldiers,' as your own Bob Dylan calls you! You are... you

Someone behind me asked in a soft voice 'Who the hell is he?' And I didn't know whether he was asking about me, or Bob Dylan.

The carrier braked sharply and stopped in a cloud of red dust. 'Dismount!' ordered the sergeant in a strangely un-military tone. And the soldiers started jumping out of the carrier, lightly and gracefully as cats. Several GIs stepped right over me, as if I were an object. The sounds of guns grew louder and closer. Somewhere above, an Army chopper rattled through and disappeared beyond the tops of the palm trees. While I was watching it, the American soldiers silently moved into the bush, leaving me alone in the carrier. There was a wild orgy of gunfire, several blasts, and then a deafening silence. The tops of the bushes swayed, ahead of the carrier. In a moment I saw the tip of a machine gun popping out of a grass thicket. Then the black-haired head of a Vietcong soldier. Then another. And another from the right. With trembling hands I reached into the pocket of my shirt and produced a handful of badges with Lenin's profile on a red background, and a couple of postcards with views of the Red Square and the Kremlin.

'Don't shoot!' I pleaded. 'I am Friend! Russki! Freedom! Peace! Communism!' I shouted in a strained, hoarse voice,

waving the postcards at the Vietcong. They silently encircled the carrier. The leader of the group guardedly walked up to me, and with a movement of his Kalashnikov barrel ordered me to step down. Keeping the muzzle aimed at me with one hand he took the badges and the postcards with the other, and stuffed them into his tunic pocket, eyeing me all the time unemotionally. I tried to smile, and stretched out my hand as a sign of friendship. The Vietnamese pulled the trigger and shot three times into my stomach, sending me back against the carrier. The last things I saw were his calm, hateful eyes, and the steel-covered butt of his Kalashnikov crushing my skull against the steel wall of the carrier...

The only way I could interpret this dream of the Central Committee's apparatchik is: guilt, the feeling most of my generation of the Soviet "new class" desperately want to suppress. Because, unlike the American "peaceniks," we know perfectly well who is the aggressor, and our conscience bothers us.

Bibliography

Mowat, F. (1972), *The Siberians*, Vol. 3456, Viking Press.

Mowat, F. (1973), *Sibir: my discovery of Siberia*, McClelland & Stewart.